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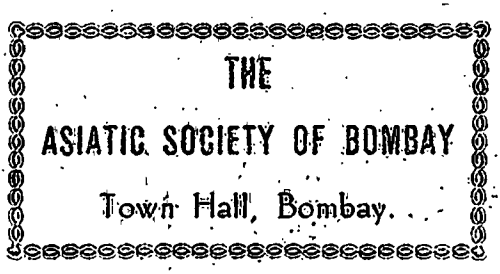

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THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HEBREW REPUBLIC.

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BY

THOMAS LEWIS, M.A.

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THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

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BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The religion of the Hebrews. Their sacraments. Of circumcision.

THE religion of the Hebrews consisted principally in prayers, sacraments, sacrifices, and the public observation of fasts and festivals. Something concerning their prayers has been already observed, as far as they were prescribed by the Jewish church in the worship of the synagogue. Under the temple, the people were usually left to their own conceptions, though the priests made use of a set form when they offered oblations and sacrifices; and these prayers will be considered when we come to that part of divine worship. Their sacraments were two, circumcision and the paschal supper. CHAP. I.

Circumcision was a federal rite, annexed by God as a seal to the covenant which he made with Abraham and his posterity, and was accordingly renewed and taken into the body of the Mosaical constitutions. It was not a mere mark only to distinguish the Hebrews, as the seed of Abraham, from other

BOOK IV. nations; but by this they were made the children of the covenant, and entitled to the blessings of it: though if there had been no more in it than this, that they who were of the same faith should have a certain character whereby they should be known, it would have been a very wise appointment. This mark seems to be fitly chosen for the purpose; because it was a sign that no man would have made upon himself and upon his children, unless it were for the sake of faith and religion. It was not a brand upon the arm, or an incision in the thigh; but a difficult operation in a most tender part, peculiarly called *flesh* in many places of scripture. That member which is the instrument of generation was made choice of, that they might be an holy seed, consecrated unto God from the beginning; and circumcision was properly a token of the divine cove-
Gen. xv. 5. nant made with Abraham and his posterity, that God would multiply their seed, and make them as the stars of heaven.

This original of circumcision is lately disputed by learned men, who fancy the Jews borrowed it from the Egyptians; and that God did not enjoin Abraham a new thing, when he ordered him to be circumcised; but only made this a sign of his covenant with him, which it was not with other nations. The only authority upon which the broachers
Lib. ii. c. 104. of this novelty rely, is Herodotus, who says, that the people of Colchis, and the Egyptians, were the only nations that were circumcised from the beginning; the Syrians and Phœnicians, who live in Palestine, confessing that they had this rite from them. Which is just such a tale as he tells in the second chapter of that book, that the Egyptians were the

first inhabiters of the earth, unless perhaps the Phrygians. This opinion proceeded from their own vain conceit, which made them unwilling to confess that they received circumcision from any other people. But Moses himself sufficiently overthrows this argument; for he tells us that the Philistim came from the Casluchim, that is, the people of Colchis, as that people came originally from Egypt, as Herodotus himself confesses; and this was before Abraham's time; for the Philistim had a king among them in his days. Now these Philistim were an uncircumcised people; and therefore the people of Colchis, no doubt, were so also, when they went out of their country and drove the Avim out of Palestine. And consequently the Egyptians had no such rite among them when the Casluchim came from Egypt, but imposed grossly upon Herodotus when they made him believe they had been circumcised from the beginning. The truth is, the Ishmaelites received it from Abraham, and from them the Arabians; and from those countries, or from Abraham's children by Keturah, it was derived, in all likelihood, to the Egyptians; from whom the people of Colchis, who knew themselves to be of Egyptian descent, embraced it in imitation of their ancestors. Besides, it is incredible that God would fix the mark of the Egyptians, the race of Ham, upon Abraham and his posterity; and there is nothing to induce any nation to use such a rite, unless they had been directed to it by God, as Abraham was.

CHAP. I.

Gen. x. 14.

The time for performing this rite was the eighth day, (that is, six full days after the child was born,) because till then it was not sufficiently cleansed from the impurities of its birth, nor was the mother

BOOK IV. past her greatest pollution; and consequently could not touch it without rendering it unclean. And the eighth day was so absolutely fixed for this ceremony, that if it fell upon a sabbath they circumcised the child; from whence arose that saying among them, "the sabbath gives place to circumcision." And as the child was not to be circumcised before the eighth day, so he was not (unless perhaps in case of great weakness) to be kept uncircumcised beyond it; upon which if the parents did not cause it to be circumcised, the house of judgment, as the Jews speak, were bound to do it; and if they did not, (being ignorant perhaps of the neglect,) the child, when he came of age, (that is, was thirteen years old,) was bound himself to get it done. If he did not, the judges, if they knew of it, were obliged to take care of it.

Gen. xvii. 14. The penalty of *cutting off* lay upon the parents, or those who supplied their place, for the wilful omission of circumcision: but notwithstanding the terror of this punishment, yet there is frequent mention in the Talmudists of Jews that always went uncircumcised, and of some priests who were never circumcised, and yet served at the altar, and their ministrations were esteemed valid. It was a rule among them, that an uncircumcised priest, or Israelite, was a true priest, or a true Israelite, whose brethren died by circumcision; for they fancied that the precepts were not binding where death would certainly follow, and that such as observed the laws were to live, and not to die in them: so that if the first, second, or third son should die by circumcision, those that were born after were not circumcised, and yet were esteemed priests or Israelites in all respects.

The foreskin in the early times was cut off with a sharp knife made of flint; but in times of persecution, those who chose to save their lives at the expense of their religion, had a way to destroy the character of circumcision that was in their flesh; which they did by drawing up the foreskin with a chirurgeon's instrument: and this wicked invention is ascribed to Esau, as the first author and practiser of it. The foreskin was sometimes drawn up by sickness; but which way soever it was done, the person must submit to be circumcised again, before he was esteemed a member of the Jewish church. CHAP. I. Epiphan. lib. de Mens. et Pond.

The name was usually given to the child at the time of circumcision: upon extraordinary occasions, the mother, or some that stood by, would name it at the time of its birth; but no name could at any time be imposed upon it without the father's consent. They always had regard to the name of some person of distinction who had been of the family. The name of God was often taken into their names, which generally were significative, as *Nathanael*, which signifies *the gift of God*. It was usual for them to change their names out of humour or interest; and at last, instead of deriving their names from the Hebrew language, they introduced names from the Greek and Latin tongues, and were called as other subjects of the Roman empire.

The ancient way of performing this initiatory rite among the Hebrews, is no where, as I know of, to be found; and therefore I must submit to describe the operation by the account to be found among the more modern writers of the Jews; which, though it be attended with some ceremonies that may seem trifling and superstitious, yet since

BOOK IV. it is the best I can meet with, and the form appears to be just and rational in some parts of it, I will venture to insert it for the sake of illustration; and it is as follows:

The person who administered this rite was called *mohel*, who must be a Jew, and a man, and well skilled in the operation; which that he might be qualified to execute with dexterity, he first procured liberty by money to circumcise the children of some poor Jews, to gain experience, before he was employed by the richer sort. The circumcising instrument is of stone, glass, iron, or any matter that will cut; commonly a sharp knife, like a razor, among the rich Jews, set in silver, and adorned with precious stones. Before the infant was circumcised, he was washed and wrapped in clouts, that in the time of the circumcision he might lie clean; for otherwise no prayers could be said over him. And if during the ceremony he chanced to defile himself, nothing could be done till he was washed and laid clean again. This rite was generally performed in the morning, while the child was fasting, to prevent the greater effusion of blood.

In the morning therefore of the eighth day all things were made ready: first two seats were placed, or one so framed that two might sit in it apart, set off and covered with rich carpets, either in the public synagogue, or in a private apartment in the house. If it was in the synagogue, the chair was placed near the holy ark, or chest, where the book of the law is kept: then comes the witness, or, if you please, the godfather for the child, called *the master of the covenant*, and places himself at the seat; and near him stands the mohel, or circumciser. They

are followed by other Jews, one of which cries with a loud voice that they should presently bring what was needful for the business. In this office there were several boys that had particular employments: one carried a great torch, in which were lighted twelve wax candles, to represent the twelve tribes of Israel; after him came two boys carrying cups full of red wine; after them another carrying the circumcising knife; another brings a dish of sand; another, a dish with oil, in which are fine and clean rags, which the mohel applies to the wound of the child. These stand in a ring about the circumciser, to take notice how he performs the ceremony; and these offices are bought with money by the parents of the children. Some also come with spices, cloves, cinnamon, and strong wine, to support and refresh any person that should chance to faint or swoon at the operation. CHAP. I.

Things being thus prepared, the godfather sits down upon one of those two seats, and the mohel places himself over against him, and sings the song of the Israelites after they had passed the Red sea. Exod. xv. Then the women bring the child to the door, all the congregation rising up. The godfather goes to the door, takes the child, sits down in his seat, and cries out, "Blessed be he that cometh:" alluding to Elias, for whom the void seat is set; for the vulgar Jews believe him to be alive upon earth; and the more learned conceive that he is there present in spirit, and that he will again make his bodily appearance before the day of judgment. They say that when Elias (whom they call *the angel of the covenant*) 1 Kings xix. 10. complained that the children of Israel had forsaken the covenant, that is, circumcision, God promised

BOOK IV. him that he should be always present at the circumcising of infants, to see it rightly performed. And when they prepare that seat for Elias, they are obliged in express words to say, "This seat is for "the prophet Elias." If he be not thus formally invited, he never comes; and this chair continues set for him three whole days together.

The child lies in the lap of the godfather, and the mohel takes him out of his clouts, and lays hold on his member; and, holding the foreskin, puts back the top of it, and rubs it to make it less sensible of pain. Then he takes from the boy the circumcising knife, and says aloud: "Blessed be thou, O God "our Lord, King of the world, who hast sanctified "us with thy commandments, and given us the co- "venant of circumcision." And as he speaks he cuts off the fore part of the skin, that the nut of the yard might be seen; and then casts it into the dish of sand, and restores the knife to the boy again. From another boy he takes a cup of red wine, and drinks his mouth full, which he immediately spits out upon the infant, and with it washes away the blood; and if he perceives the child begin to faint, he spurts some of it into his face: then he takes the member of the child into his mouth, and sucks out the blood, in order to stop the effusion, and spits it into the other cup full of wine, or into the dish of sand. This he does thrice; and if the circumciser neglects to suck the blood in this manner, he is degraded from his office, and employed no more. When the blood is stayed, the mohel with his sharp pointed thin nails rends the skin of the yard, and forces it so far back that the head of it is bare; and this ceremony is so necessary, that without it there

can be no circumcision. This operation is exceeding painful to the infant; and when it is over, he lays the soft rags dipped in the oil aforesaid to the wound, binds them three or four times about, and then wraps up the infant again in his clouts. CHAP. I.

Then the father of the child says: "Blessed be "thou, O God our Lord, King of the world, who "hast sanctified us in thy commandments, and hast "commanded us to succeed into the covenant of our "father Abraham." To this all the congregation answer: "As this infant has happily succeeded into "the covenant of our father Abraham, so happily "shall he succeed into the possession of the law of "Moses, into marriage also, and other good works." Then the mohel washes his bloody hands and his mouth. The godfather rises and stands over against him; and, taking the other cup of wine, prays over the infant in this form: "O our God, God of our "fathers, strengthen and preserve this infant to "his father and mother; and make that his name "among the people of Israel may be called Isaac," (here he names the child,) "who was the son of "Abraham. Let the father rejoice in him that "came out of his loins. Let his mother rejoice in "the fruit of her womb, as it is written: *Thy* Prov. xxiii. 25. "*father and thy mother shall be glad, and she that* "*bare thee shall rejoice.* And God says by the pro- "phet: *When I passed by thee, and saw thee pol-* Ezek. xvi. 6. "*luted in thine own blood, I said unto thee when thou* "*wast in thy blood, Live; yea, I said unto thee* "*when thou wast in thy blood, Live.*" Here the mohel puts his finger into the other cup of wine, wherein he had spit the blood, and moistens the lips of the child three times with that wine, conceiving

BOOK IV. that he shall live longer in the blood of his circumcision than otherwise he should. Then he prays for the whole congregation, and that God would give long life to the father and mother of the boy, and bless the child. This last prayer is made near the ark; and some of the devouter Jews, before and after circumcision, take the child and lay him upon the seat prepared for Elias, that the prophet might touch him. The skin is cast into the sand
Gen. xxxii. 12. in memory of that promise; *I will make thy seed as the sand of the sea:* and of the saying of Ba-
Num. xxiii. 10. laam; *Who can number the dust of Jacob?* that is, his posterity, whose foreskin is cast into the dust. By this means they say that the curse upon
Gen. iii. 14. the serpent is fulfilled; *Dust shalt thou eat*: that is, this skin in the dust; so that the serpent can have no more power over them. The child being thus made a Jew, they return to the father's house, and restore him to his mother's arms.

If the child be sick upon the eighth day, they defer circumcision till his recovery. They imagine the blowing of the north wind to be necessary to this ceremony; and therefore conclude that their fathers forbore the use of circumcision for forty years in the wilderness; because the north wind did not blow all that time, lest it should have blown away the pillar of smoke and fire: besides, this wind is wholesome for wounds, which else are dangerous. But lest they should stay beyond the eighth day expecting this northern blast, the Talmud is so kind as to say, that every day there blow four winds, and that the north is mixed with them all; and therefore they may circumcise every day. If the child die before the eighth day, he is circum-

cised at the grave without any prayers; but a sign is erected in memory of him, that God may have mercy upon him, and raise him at the day of the resurrection. CHAP. I.

Upon the day of circumcision the father makes a feast. Ten must be the number of the invited guests; and one or two of the learned rabbies make a long prayer and sermon at the table, while the others freely set the glass about, and drink plentifully. This feast they observe by the example of Abraham, who made a great feast the same day that Isaac was weaned. They pervert the text, and say, when he was circumcised. The mohel continues some time with the mother, lest the blood should issue from the wound. They use but small solemnity when a female child is born; only when it is about six weeks old some young girls stand about the cradle, and lift it up with the child in it and name it, she who stands at the head being godmother. And then they feast and are merry. Gen. xxi. 8.

I remember that Scotus somewhere reckons up the different periods of circumcision in this manner: from the institution of it to the time that Christ was baptized, it was under the precept of the law, and was profitable and necessary; from the baptism of Christ to the promulgation of the gospel, it was useful, but not necessary; from the promulgation of the gospel to the destruction of the temple, it was lawful, but not useful; from the destruction of the temple, or rather from the council of the apostles to this time, it was absolutely unlawful, it was concision, and not circumcision. In the first period they only circumcised; in the second they circumcised and baptized; in the third they baptized and cir-

BOOK IV. cumcised; (for baptism was then more regarded than circumcision;) in the last, the Christians only baptized.

CHAP. II.

The rite of baptism among the Hebrews; the admission of proselytes into the church.

CIRCUMCISION was the initiatory rite appointed by God for the admission of Hebrew children into the established religion; but it was always, as the Jews say, attended by baptism, which was inseparable from it, though it was not perhaps of the same divine authority. It is the general voice of the writers of that nation, that all the Israelites were entered into the covenant, among other things, by the rite of baptism. Israel (says Maimonides, the great interpreter of the Jewish law) was admitted into the covenant by three things, by circumcision, by baptism, and by sacrifice: circumcision was in Egypt, as it is said, none uncircumcised shall eat the passover; baptism was in the wilderness before the giving of the law, as it is said, *Thou shalt sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their garments;* and sacrifice, as it is said, *And he sent the young men of the children of Israel, and they offered burnt offerings, they offered them for all Israel.*

Issure Biah. cap. 13.

The truth of this opinion is suspected. However, it is indisputably certain, that heathens, who became converts to the religion of the Jews, for many ages were admitted by circumcision; and baptism was inseparably joined to it. Whenever (says the same writer) a heathen is willing to be joined to

the covenant of Israel, and place himself under the wings of the Divine Majesty, and take the yoke of the law upon him, voluntary circumcision, baptism, and oblation are required; but if it be a woman, baptism and oblation. This practice, the Jews say, continued to the reign of Solomon; but at that time persons of other nations became proselytes by thousands, and then they were received by baptism or washing only. The original of baptism is deduced from the practice of the patriarch Jacob, when he chose into his family, and received into the church, the young women of Sichem, and other heathens who lived with him. The text is: *Jacob said to his family, and to all that were with him, Put away from you the strange gods—and be ye clean, and change your garments.* The expression *be ye clean* is applied by Aben Ezra to baptism, or the washing of the body; and this perhaps is no improbable conjecture. CHAP. II. Gen. xxxv. 2.

It has been observed before that there were two sorts of proselytes among the Jews, proselytes of the gate, and proselytes of righteousness: the latter only were received into the church by baptism, by which they became Israelites in all respects; they were not only freed from the Gentile pollution, and transplanted into the religion of the Jews, but they had the freedom to marry a woman of Israel, by which means their offspring became undefiled and legitimate. Servants therefore that were taken into a family, and such also as were to be made free, if they desired it, were baptized; their children by this means, if the mother was an Israelite, was received into all the privileges of the nation, civil and spiritual: and hence it was that in following gene-

BOOK IV. rations the sons of proselytes were circumcised indeed, but not baptized.

The manner of admitting proselytes is thus recorded by the Jewish writers: when a proselyte, or a proselytess, offered to be received into the religion of the Jews, they inquired of them whether they did not embrace that religion for riches, for preferment, or out of fear: and a man they examined, whether he had not set his eyes upon some maid of Israel; and of a woman, whether some young man of Israel had not engaged her heart. And if no such thing was found, they acquainted them with the weight of the yoke of the law, and the labour of performing it. If they perceived that they came out of love to the law, they received them, as it is said: *When she saw that she was stedfastly minded to go with her, then she left speaking unto her.*

Ruth i. 18.

When they receive a proselyte of righteousness, and have inquired of him, and find none of the causes mentioned, they say to him: "What sawest "thou, that caused thee to become a proselyte? "Knowest thou not at this time that Israel is poor "and oppressed, and many calamities are upon "them?" If he replies, "I know it, I am one un- "worthy," they receive him out of hand, and acquaint him with the fundamentals of the law; namely, the unity of the Godhead, and the prohibition of idolatry, which they insist largely upon: then they rehearse to him some of the less and some of the greater commandments in the law, but not so fully. They inform him likewise of the sin of a man's gathering what he had left, and about the corner of the field, and about the second tithing. They relate to him the penalties of the law, saying

Deut. xxiv. 19.

Levit. xxiii. 22.

thus: "Know, that before thou comest into this CHAP. II.
"law, if thou eatest fat, thou art not liable to the
"punishment of cutting off; and if thou didst pro-
"fane the sabbath, thou wast not punished by ston-
"ing: but now after thou art proselyted, if thou
"eatest fat, thou must be punished by cutting off;
"and if thou profanest the sabbath, thou must be
"stoned." And they add no more; for they are not too particular with him, lest it prevents his conversion, and frightens him from his design; for at first they draw a man with gentle words, as it is said: *With the cords of a man will I draw them.* Therefore as they acquaint him with the penalties of the commandment, so they let him know the reward of obedience; and shew him, that by keeping the commandments he shall obtain the life of the world to come; and that there is no man perfectly righteous, but he who keeps the commandments, and does them.

For this purpose they say to him: "Knowest
"thou that the world to come is not reserved but
"for the righteous, that is, for Israel? And there-
"fore though thou see Israel in affliction in this
"world, yet there is good laid up for them; for
"they cannot receive much in this world among the
"nations, lest their heart should be lifted up, and
"so they err, and spoil the reward in the world
"to come; as it is said, *Jeshurun waxed fat, and*
"*kicked.* Nor does the blessed God bring upon
"them much vengeance, lest they should perish;
"for all nations shall fail, but they shall remain."
And this they speak largely upon, to make him in love with the commandments. If he turns back, and refuses to embrace them, he goes his way; but

BOOK IV. if he gives his assent, they circumcise him without delay. If it appears that he was circumcised before, (as Ishmaelites, and Midianites, and other children of Abraham were,) they fetch from him a drop of blood of the covenant, and then he is allowed to be perfectly circumcised.

There is some distance of time between his circumcision and his baptism; for he was not baptized till the pain of circumcision was healed; because water might be injurious to the wound. As soon as he grows whole, they bring him to baptism, to some gathering of waters; and the proportion is computed to be a cubit square, and three cubits deep; that is, as much as amounts to the washing of the whole body of a man at one dipping. Being placed in the water, the *triumviri* (or the judicial consistory of three, who had the sole power of admitting to baptism) instruct him in some of the weightier and some of the higher commands of the law; and then he plunges himself all over his body; for it was a rule, that when the law speaks of washing of the flesh, or washing of garments, it intends the washing of the whole body; so that if but the tip of the finger, or any of his hair remains unwashed, the man was still in his uncleanness. When he came out of the water, after his baptism, he made a solemn prayer that he might be purified and clean from his Gentile pollution, and become a sound member of the Jewish church. A woman, when she was baptized, was placed by women in the water up to the neck, and two disciples of the wise men instruct her in the precepts of the law as she stands. Then she plunges herself, at which they turn away their eyes, and avoid looking upon her

as she comes out. It was necessary that three should be present at the baptism of a proselyte as witnesses, who took care that the ceremony was regularly performed, and briefly instructed the catechumen in the principles of the religion he was entering upon; for the admission of a proselyte was reckoned a matter of great consequence: and it was a maxim among them, that "proselytes were dangerous to "Israel, like the itch;" for many of them continued very tenacious of their old customs, and proved so ignorant of the law, that they often corrupted the native Jews by their example, and seduced them into idolatry and irreligion. CHAP. II.

By this account of the admission of proselytes it may be observed, that such as were of age, and baptized by the Jews, were first instructed in the principles of their religion, and the import of what they went about; but we are not to conclude from hence, that children and infants, that were incapable of instruction, were not admitted into the church by baptism. It is most certain that they baptized children, and generally with their parents; and if their parents were dead, the consistory of three took care of their baptism. If an Israelite, says Maimonides, takes up or finds a heathen infant, and baptizes him for a proselyte, he becomes a member of the church; but children who were baptized in their infancy, had the liberty to retract, which adult persons had not. It appears further, that baptism was not administered but by persons of a regular ordination and appointment. A consistory, or triumvirate, had the power orderly to execute this office, and not every one that presumed to take it upon him. And witnesses were so necessary for admission into the

In Avadim, cap. 8.

BOOK IV. church by baptism, that though a person were baptized regularly, yet if he could not bring evidence of it by the testimony of witnesses, he was not admitted into the privileges of a proselyte, nor received into the communion of the church.

CHAP. III.

The celebration of the passover.

THE passover was not only a most solemn sacrament, but one of the greatest festivals in the Jewish church, and received its name from the Hebrew word *pesach*, which signifies *to pass over;* because the angel that slew the firstborn of the Egyptians, passed over the houses of the Israelites, when he saw the door-posts stained with the blood of the lamb that was that day slain. The word also came to signify the lamb that was offered in memory of this deliverance, and likewise all the other sacrifices which were used to accompany this lamb, and were offered with it at this festival.

The beginning of the civil year among the Jews was upon the month Tisri, which answers to our September; their sacred year began with the month Nisan, which agrees with our March. Upon the tenth day of this month they began to prepare for the celebration of the passover, which was four days before the solemnity commenced. The first thing that was to be done, was, that every master of a house should provide a male lamb, or a kid of the first year, and without blemish, and keep him up till the fourteenth day. The reason of this keeping up seems to be, that they might have time to inspect

whether he had any legal blemish upon him, and that his bowels might be purged and empty, and therefore he might be the more easily dressed. CHAP. III.

If the house were so small that they could not eat a whole lamb, they were allowed to call in the assistance of their neighbours, till there were a number of persons sufficient for the eating of him. It is not to be doubted but every one in after-times provided their own lambs, as they did in Egypt; but it may be questioned whether it was done in the same manner. It is probable that as the priests took up the lambs for the daily sacrifice four days before they were to be offered, so that they provided lambs for the people at the passover, taking them up in the market four days before, and choosing those that were fit and agreeable to the command; for whereas the law was so severe as to insist that they should be without blemish, and their tradition had summed up so large a number of blemishes as seventy-three, it could not be but that the law and their traditions (which they valued above the law) should be endlessly broken, if every one took up his lamb in the market at Jerusalem at adventure. The priests therefore had brought a market of sheep and oxen against such times as these into the temple, where they having beforehand picked out in the public market such lambs and bullocks as were fit for sacrifice, or the passover, sold them in the temple at a dearer rate; and so served the people's turn, and their own advantage. It is the opinion of some of the Jewish nation, that those who took up the lamb on the tenth day, and kept him till the fourteenth, did tie him all that while at one of their bed's feet, that he might be in

BOOK IV. their eye, to view him often whether he were right and lawful, and to put them in mind of what they were so solemnly going about.

The next care in reference to this sacrament was to refrain from the eating and the use of leaven at the time of the passover; and that when the paschal lamb was slain, it should not be found within their houses. The law in this point was exceeding strict: *Seven days there shall be no leaven found in your houses; for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be stranger, or born in the land.* It is difficult to find out the analogy there was between this law, and their redemption out of Egypt. The most probable conjecture is, that it signified their coming out of Egypt in haste, so that they had not time to leaven their bread; and (as a Jewish doctor observes) in these hot countries bread would not keep above a day unless it were leavened. The Jews, to obey this command, were so very strict, that upon the fourteenth day, before it was quite dark, they made a search not only in their dwelling-houses, but in barns and stables, and all holes and corners, where they had small occasion to be so exact; and this they did by the light of a candle. This tradition is explained by their glossaries to signify the thirteenth day at even, when it began to be duskish and candle-lighting. When the evening of the fourteenth day was come, (which was after sun-setting,) they were to undertake no work (not so much as the study of the law) till they went about this search; therefore they had no divinity lectures that evening, lest they should hinder that inquiry. Before a man began to search, he said this short

ejaculation: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, CHAP. III.
"the King everlasting, who has sanctified us by his
"commandment, and has enjoined us the putting
"away of leaven." He was not to say a word between this prayer and his searching, but instantly set about it; and what leaven he found he was to put in some box, or hang it up in such a place where no mouse could come at it; and he was to pronounce it insignificant and void in this form: "All
"the leaven that is in my possession, which I have
"seen, or which I have not seen, be it null, be it as
"the dust of the earth." Upon the morning of the fourteenth day the master of the family threw a piece of bread into the fire, to give notice that the days of unleavened bread were now begun.

When the day of the passover was now come, some part of the people kept it holy by ceasing from labour all the day long; and others made it but a half holyday, by leaving off work at noon. But however they behaved in this case, they were especially careful to put away all leaven out of their houses, (as they had searched for it the night before,) that it might not be seen nor found among them. And they were so nice as to avoid mentioning the word *leaven*, lest they should contract a pollution by thinking of it. The law indeed concerning this ceremony speaks of the fifteenth day for the doing of it, as if it were soon enough to do it upon the fourteenth day at even: but the Jews do not impertinently observe that the expelling of leaven was by the law to be before the time wherein the eating of it was forbidden. Upon this fourteenth day therefore, for a good part of the forenoon, they might eat leaven, or leavened bread, or give it to any bird

BOOK IV. or beast, or sell it to a stranger; but the fixing of the certain time of the day is not without some debate. Maimonides resolves it thus: it was lawful to eat leaven upon the fourteenth day, till the end of the fourth hour; but they might not eat it the fifth, yet they were allowed to use it; but he that eateth it the sixth hour was beaten with the rebels' beating, and he that eat it from the beginning of the seventh was to be whipped.

The celebration of the passover was upon the fourteenth day; but the time of the day when the lamb was to be killed does not so plainly appear. There is an express command that it should be killed in the evening, or (as it is noted in the margin of our Bibles) *between the two evenings;* the first of which began from the time that the sun declined from its noontide point, and lasted till sunset; and then began the second evening, and lasted till night. Between these two evenings, about the middle of them, was the passover offered: for after the offering of incense they began, upon this day, to kill the daily evening sacrifice between two and three in the afternoon, (a little sooner than on other days,) and having finished that, and trimmed the lamps, they went about the paschal sacrifice, which continued till sun-setting; that is, there were about two hours and a half for the dispatch of all the lambs; for the daily evening sacrifice, and all belonging to it, being over in an hour's time, (by half an hour after three,) all the rest of the day till sunset (which was two hours and a half at that time of the year) remained for killing of the paschal lambs.

But before the passover was slain, they first agreed and concluded upon the company that should

eat him. This caution was not unwarrantably taken up, being founded upon that command, *Every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb.* Now as the tribes were divided into families, so were families into houses; and when many lambs were few enough for a whole family, some houses were so small that they could not eat one, and therefore they were allowed to call in their neighbours. They were not, say the Jews, to be fewer than ten persons, nor more than twenty, to the eating of one lamb. Though some of their doctors conceive that the number of persons in a company was not determined; but sometimes more, and sometimes less, according to the proportionableness of their eating: but he that eat the least was to eat the quantity of an olive; and so many were admitted into the society, that if there was the quantity of an olive for every one to eat, it was enough. CHAP. III. Exod. xii. 4.

Though women were not directly obliged to appear before the Lord at the three solemn festivals, yet they were bound by an express law to be present at the passover: *The whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it.* By which precept men and women were equally included. Now in forming these societies that were severally to eat the lambs, they suffered not any company to consist of servants and women only, nor of servants and children only, nor to consist only of proselytes, or of children; but a society might be only of women, or only of servants; but ordinarily men, women, and children, masters and servants, (if circumcised,) were entertained all together.

Because in the command that relates to the killing of the passover there are three words mentioned,

BOOK IV. *assembly, congregation,* and *Israel,* they divided the killing of it into three companies, according to that number. There were not to be less than thirty men in every company; yet they found out a method to make fifty men (if there were no more) to make thirty men three times over for the three companies; and their way was this: thirty of the fifty went into the court of the temple, and when they had killed their lambs, ten of them went out, and ten of those that stood without came in and killed theirs, and then ten others went out, and the other ten that stood without came in and killed theirs; and there were continually thirty in the court while the lambs were killing. But this was only upon extraordinary occasion; as, if it should happen that there should be no more than fifty lambs presented, or at least but fifty persons present, (for commonly each of these paschal societies sent their lamb by one of their company only, and under fifty there was no killing of the passover,) though generally every one of these three companies we are speaking of were as many as the court could hold.

The first company came in till the court was filled, and then the doors were locked, and they fell to killing the lambs; and while they were about this work, the Levites sung. The song or hymn that was sung at this time was called *the lesser,* or *the Egyptian Hallel.* It was used chiefly in remembrance of their delivery out of Egypt, and consisted of the hundred and thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth psalms. The Jews confess that this saying of the Hallel was an institution of the scribes; and these psalms were appointed for that purpose, partly because they be-

gan and ended with Hallelujah; (which the people were obliged to answer, while these psalms were saying, a hundred and three and twenty times, which were the years of Aaron;) and partly, say the Jews, because the Hallel recordeth five things, the coming out of Egypt, the dividing of the sea, the giving of the law, the resurrection of the dead, and the lot of the Messiah. This Hallel was said over upon eighteen days in the year, and one night; at the killing of the passover, at the feast of Pentecost, upon the eight days of the feast of tabernacles, upon the eight days of the feast of dedication, and upon the night of the passover. What the great Hallel was, will be explained hereafter. When the people began to kill the lambs (which was no sacerdotal act, for any Israelite might do it) these psalms were begun to be sung; and being once sung over, and the work not done, they began again; and the third time, and the killing was always over before it was finished. CHAP. III.

The passover was slain in the court, and the blood was sprinkled by the priests, who stood in rows from the slaughter-place to the altar with golden and silver vials in their hands. These vials had no brims, lest the blood should stay upon them, and be congealed. A priest receives the blood, and gives it to him that stands next, and he to the next, who taking the vial that was full, gives him an empty one. The priest who stood next the altar sprinkled the blood against the bottom of it. Then was the lamb flayed by the owner: for this purpose it hung upon a staff between two, upon their shoulders, and so they helped one another. They cut up his belly, cleansed away his ordure, separated his inwards, put them in a dish, salted them, and

BOOK IV. laid them upon the fire on the altar. The body is carried to the place where they sup, the flesh is roasted, and the skin given to the landlord.

The first company being dispatched, and having carried off their slain and flayed passovers, the second company enter, as many as the court would hold; and while they are killing, sprinkling the blood, and burning the fat, the Hallel was begun again, and sung as before. And when that company had done, they went out, and the third came in, and they did as the others before, till all was finished. When the three companies were so dispatched, the priests (as there was great occasion) washed the court. And here it may be proper to note, that the paschal lamb being first killed in Egypt, was slain in every man's house; for they had no altar there, nor any other place, where they had liberty to kill it. But after they came into the land of Canaan, it was not lawful to sacrifice it any where but in the place which God appointed for his worship; from whence it is concluded, that whatever the Jews did with other sacrifices, yet this could not be offered in the high places, but only in the temple. Besides, when the passover was first celebrated, the blood was received in a common bason, and a bunch of hyssop was dipped in it, with which they struck the lintel and two side posts, but not the threshold, lest the blood should have been trod upon, which would have been profane, it being an holy thing. Now this striking or sprinkling of the blood upon the posts seems to have been peculiar to the first passover, and not to have been used in after-times, when there was no occasion to distinguish their houses from the Egyptians. They had

then no altar, and therefore the blood was ordered to be sprinkled in this manner. CHAP. III.

If the killing of the passover fell upon the sabbath, yet they did not abate any of this work; nor did the priests forbear to wash the court, according to the established rule; for there was no prohibition concerning resting in the sanctuary. But though the lamb might be killed and offered, yet they did not carry him to their houses till the sabbath was ended.

The Egyptian passover was to be roasted with fire, and not eaten sodden or raw, with any of the blood in it. The lamb was to be roasted whole, his head with his legs and his appurtenances, to avoid perhaps the superstition of the Gentiles, who were used to rake into the bowels of their sacrifices to make curious observations, and also thought themselves full of their deity when they eat the entrails with the blood running about their mouths. Not a bone of it was to be broken; for they had no time to break the bones and suck out the marrow. It was to be eaten in that night wherein the sacrifice was slain. They were obliged not to stir out of doors, and therefore not to carry any of the flesh into another house. Nothing was to remain until the morning, lest they should have been forced to carry it away with them, which would have been troublesome; or if they left it behind, it might have been profaned and exposed to contempt by the Egyptians. If any was left, it was to be burnt with fire. The habit and posture in which they were to eat the passover was like travellers. Their long and loose garments, which they wore in those eastern countries, were girt about their loins. They were

BOOK IV. to put on shoes, which they did not use in the warm country of Egypt; but they were now necessary for a long journey. They leaned upon their staves while they eat it, as men expecting to set out. They were to eat the lamb in haste with unleavened bread, in memory of their hardships in Egypt, and of their deliverance thence so suddenly, that they had not time to leaven it. The sauce they used was bitter herbs, to put them in mind of their servitude under the Egyptians, who made their lives bitter to them. And most of these ceremonies were peculiar to the first passover.

In after-times, when the lamb was brought home, it was roasted whole upon a spit or staff of a pomegranate tree, running him in with it at the mouth, and out behind. The passover meal did not begin till it was night. Their posture of eating was sitting, but not after the manner of our sitting at the table, but a special posture by itself; for at other meals they sat as we do, with their bodies erect; or, when they would enlarge themselves to more freedom of feasting and refreshing, they sat upon beds or couches, and leaned upon the table with their left elbow; and this or the other posture they used indifferently at other times as they were disposed. But at the passover night they were obliged to use this leaning composure; and the poorest man in Israel was bound to observe this posture in memory of their freedom; for (as their own words are) in every generation a man is obliged to behave himself at the passover, as if he himself had been delivered out of the bondage of Egypt; and therefore at meat that night a man is bound to eat, to drink, and to sit in a posture of freedom. Upon the

conceit of this liberty they used this manner of dis- CHAP. III.
cumbency, so far different from the posture enjoined and practised at the first passover in Egypt; and as the notion of their freedom disposed them to this leaning, easy, secure composure of their elbow upon the table, and their head leaning upon the hand; so to carry the resemblance as high as possible, they laid their legs under them, sitting upon them, and their feet lying out behind, removing and indulging their feet from the least shew of standing to attend, or readiness to go upon any business, which had the least colour of servitude or obedience, contrary to a full and absolute freedom and liberty.

After they were disposed in this posture, the first thing towards the passover supper was a cup of red wine mingled with water, to make it more cool and pleasant, prepared for every one, for which there was no positive command. And the measure of this cup was two fingers square, and one finger and a half, and the third part of a finger deep; and after thanks had been given, they drank it off. This grace was said by the master of the family, if there were but one family in the society; or, if there were more, a proper person was chosen, whom they called *the rehearser of the office of the passover*, and thanks were given in these words: "Blessed be thou, O "Lord, who hast created the fruit of the vine." Then every one of them washed their hands, over which action the officiator (for so let us call him) uttered this ejaculation: "Blessed be thou, O Lord "our God, who hast sanctified us with thy com- "mandments, and hast commanded us concerning "the washing of our hands." After they had washed, the table was furnished with what provision they

BOOK IV. held requisite for that supper; for besides the paschal lamb, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs, for the use of which they had an express command, they had at the least two dishes, and sometimes three, which they had taken up the use of by tradition; and these shall be particularly described.

There were two or three cakes of unleavened bread provided (for the number is under some dispute.) And the eating of this bread they thought so absolutely necessary, that it was to be offered to infants and sick persons; and if they were not able to eat it dry, they had it sopt and macerated in something liquid, that so they might eat of it, at the least to the quantity of an olive.

The herbs they used were of five kinds: lettuce, endive, succory, beets, horehound, or some such as these; some of them salad herbs, and some bitter; and these either green or dried, but neither boiled nor pickled.

The body of the paschal lamb was also set upon the table roasted whole, and so brought up; the legs and inwards, as the heart and liver, &c. roasted within him, as some conceive; but, as others, fastened upon the body, and so roasted upon the outside of him.

Now besides these three dishes of bread, flesh, and herbs, so positively commanded by the law, they used to eat some other meat before they began to eat the passover; and the reason of this was, because they thought themselves obliged to eat of that to satiety. And therefore when they came up to this festival, they generally reserved some thank offerings, or vows, or freewill offerings, to be offered

at that time, with which, when the priests had had their parts, they usually began their meal upon the passover night. And so here was one dish more than was enjoined by the law. CHAP. III.

They had also a dish of thick sauce made of sweet and bitter things pounded and mingled together, as dates, figs, raisins, vinegar, and other ingredients. And this was a memorial of the clay in which their fathers laboured in the land of Egypt. This practice likewise had no foundation in the law of Moses.

The table thus furnished, the officiator takes some of the salad of the herbs, and, after he had blessed God for creating the fruit of the ground, he dips it in something, (but whether in the thick sauce, or in wine or vinegar, is disputed,) and he eats the quantity of an olive at least, and so do all the rest of the company. The reason of this dipping was to provoke the curiosity of the children, that they might wonder at this strange beginning of a meal, and might be incited to inquire about the matter; and to urge them the more, the company had no sooner eaten every one a bit of salad, but presently the dishes were all removed from before the officiator, and a second cup of wine was filled and brought to him. Here the children began to ask questions, and they were informed of the Egyptian slavery, and the wonders of their deliverance, according to their capacities of understanding. If there were no children, the wife inquired; and if there were no wife, the company asked of one another; and if there was no inquiry made, the officiator would say unasked, "How different is this night from all other nights! "In other nights we eat leavened or unleavened "bread indifferently; we eat any herbs whatsoever;

BOOK IV. " we eat flesh either roasted, or stewed, or boiled;
" we eat sitting or leaning as we please. But upon
" this night we eat unleavened bread only, and bit-
" ter herbs, and roasted flesh only; we wash twice,
" and we all eat leaning."

The dishes that were taken away were again brought upon the table, and the officiator says, " This is the passover, which we eat, because the " Lord passed over the houses of our fathers in " Egypt;" and, holding up the bitter herbs in his hand, he says, " These are the bitter herbs, that we " eat in remembrance that the Egyptians made the " lives of our fathers bitter;" and, holding up the unleavened bread, he says, " This is the unleavened " bread, which we eat, because our fathers had not " time to leaven their dough before the Lord re- " deemed them; and therefore must we say before " him, *Hallelujah, praise ye the Lord!*" Then were said the hundred and thirteenth and the hundred and fourteenth psalms, which began the lesser Hallel; and he concluded with this prayer: " Blessed " be thou, O Lord our God, King everlasting, who " hath redeemed us, and redeemed our fathers out " of Egypt, and brought us this night to eat un- " leavened bread and bitter herbs." And now he, and all the company with him, drink the second cup of wine.

He washes his hands again, using the same ejaculation as at washing before; and then taking the two cakes of unleavened bread, he brake one of them in two, and laid the broken upon the whole, and gave thanks to God, who bringeth bread out of the earth. He first brake, and then gave thanks, because it was the bread of poverty and affliction; and

the poor seldom have whole cakes to give thanks over, but are glad to do it over bits and pieces. Then the officiator took a bit of the broken cake, and wrapt it together with the bitter herbs, and dipt them into the thick sauce, and gave thanks, and said, "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King "everlasting, who hast sanctified us by thy com- "mandments, and hast commanded us to eat un- "leavened bread." And so he eats, and the rest do so likewise. CHAP. III.

Then they began to eat of the flesh that was before them, the officiator gives thanks, "Blessed be "thou, O Lord our God, King everlasting, who hast "sanctified us by thy commands, and commanded "us concerning the eating of the sacrifice;" and so they fell to eat those peace offerings which they had offered upon that day, and of these they made most of the meal. He gives thanks again, "Blessed be "thou, O Lord our God, King everlasting, who hast "sanctified us by thy command, and commanded us "concerning the eating of the passover;" and then they begin to eat the paschal lamb, which, being of the *less holy things*, might be eaten at home by the people, every one at least the quantity of an olive. And when he had done, he washed his hands again, said grace after meat, (as it may be expressed,) and then took the third cup and drank it off. This third cup was called *the cup of blessing* above all the rest, partly because the blessing, or grace after meat, was said over it, as concluding the meal, and chiefly to distinguish it from the first cup; for over that, and this especially, was a blessing or thanksgiving pronounced.

Now we are come to the fourth cup, which was

BOOK IV. the last, and was called *the cup of Hallel*, because at this cup the lesser Hallel was finished. It was before observed that this Hallel consisted of six psalms, which were begun to be sung over the second cup, and now the officiator sang the remaining four; after which he pronounced a blessing. And here commonly the meal ended, and they neither eat nor drank any more that night. But they have a tradition that they might if they pleased drink a fifth cup of wine, provided they say over it the great Hallel, which is generally understood to be the hundred and thirty-sixth psalm. Thus was this solemnity celebrated in the latter times of the Jewish republic, when innovations had crept in, and various rites were introduced, quite different from the first institution of this festival; for so many and tedious ceremonies were inconsistent with the first appointment of the Egyptian passover, which was to be eaten in a travelling posture, and in great haste, leaning on their staves, and standing all the time, as men ready to be gone; which were rites (as the rabbies interpret) peculiar to the passover that was kept in Egypt, and laid no manner of obligation upon posterity.

The seven days following the feast of the passover attended, as it were, upon this great festival, and were called *the feast of unleavened bread;* because no bread that had leaven in it might be eaten for all that time; not that they were bound to eat unleavened bread for those seven days, (which was commanded only upon the night when the passover was killed,) but only not to eat leavened bread, which was absolutely unlawful. The first and last of these seven days were kept holy, the other five

were working days; because as God delivered them from their cruel bondage in Egypt upon the first day, so he overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red sea upon the seventh. The next day after the passover is expressly called *a sabbath*, and it is supposed by some was observed with the same strictness; but others conceive, that if men's occasions called them home, they were not obliged to stay longer where the sanctuary was than till they had eaten the paschal lamb; and therefore conclude that the most solemn days of the feast of unleavened bread were not kept with a sabbatical severity: yet pious persons, who were able to bear the expense, usually stayed the whole seven days before they returned home. And there being special sacrifices to be offered every day during this festival, it is said that the neighbouring country brought their oxen and their sheep to be sold to such as came from far; so that the mountains about Jerusalem were covered with them, and not a bit of grass to be seen. And whoever that was able did not come to this feast, all his goods were forfeited, and converted to sacred uses.

CHAP. III.

Levit. xxiii. 3.

Numb. xviii. 17, &c.

Upon the first day of unleavened bread, all the Israelites, that were males, were obliged to appear in the court of the temple, as they were likewise upon the two solemn festivals of Pentecost and Tabernacles. And this was thought of the greatest consequence to meet for divine worship at one place; for by this means the unity of the Godhead was preserved among them. Yet this command admitted of exceptions, and some were excused from this appearance; such as men servants that were not made free, the deaf, the dumb, the foolish, the lame, the

BOOK IV. unclean, and the uncircumcised, those that were very old, the sick, tender, and unable to travel on foot, and infants till they were able to walk up to the mountain of the house, holding their fathers by the hand. And as Providence wonderfully preserved their families in the country when they were gone unto these solemnities, and had left none at home but women and children, and some men servants that were not free, so it was little less than a miracle that these vast multitudes should find provision and accommodation for them when they came to Jerusalem; and therefore the Talmudists always account this as a special wonder. And among the miracles which they say were shewed to their fathers in the sanctuary they reckon these, that no man ever wanted fire to roast his paschal lamb, or wanted a bed or a lodging in Jerusalem.

All that appeared at this solemnity were obliged to bring with them a burnt offering for their appearance, and a double peace offering, one for the solemnity, and another for the joy of the time. The offering for their appearance was called *Corban;* and they conceived it was commanded by this precept,

Exod. xxiii. 15. *None of you shall appear before me empty.* Yet if any one failed to bring this gift, he incurred no penalty but the guilt and shame of his own conscience. The peace offerings for the solemnity of the time were called *the hagigah,* and they were to be of some beast, bullock, or sheep; they were

Numb. xviii. 17. called *the passover of the herd;* which cannot be understood of the passover that was to be eaten on the fourteenth day at even; for that was punctually appointed to be of lambs or kids, but must be meant of these peace offerings. There was a law expressed

in these words, *Thou shalt rejoice before the Lord;* CHAP. III.
by which they thought themselves obliged to be merry and rejoice when they appeared at the three festivals. For this reason they took up the use of wine at the passover supper, as was observed before, and offered other peace offerings besides the hagigah, which they called *the peace offerings of rejoicing;* so that if they brought no offering for their appearance, yet if they offered these two sorts of peace offerings, they thought they discharged their duty, and could not be said to appear before the Lord empty. The first day of the festival they thought the most proper for the offering of these, that they might be dispatched, and return home; but it served the occasion if they were offered upon any of the seven days. These passover offerings were esteemed holy things, and none in their defilement might presume to eat of them. Deut. xvi. 11.

The first and last days of this festival week were called *holy* or *good days,* and differed but a little in strictness from the observation of the sabbath. The days between them were called *the lesser solemnity;* which though not strictly holy, yet a distinction was made between them and common days. Upon them the service at the temple was more than ordinary; for the peace offerings due, or reserved to that time, could not be dispatched upon the other days, but took up much of the priests' time, and obliged them to more than ordinary attendance upon the altar.

[o] Upon the second day of unleavened bread, whatever extraordinary offerings might be upon it, there never failed to be the offering and waving of the firstfruit sheaf. [o]But the manner of this ceremony Levit. xxiii. 10, 11.

BOOK IV. having been described before[a], no more shall be said of it in this place.

Beside this passover appointed in the first month, there was a second permitted to such who could not partake of the first upon the account of any legal pollution, or their remote distance (which is judged to be fifteen miles) from the place where it was to be offered. This was to be observed in the second month, upon the fourteenth day, according to all the ordinances of the first passover. If the unclean presumed to eat the passover in the first month, his sacrilege was punished by cutting off; yet they were allowed to keep the feast of unleavened bread seven days in that month, but were not obliged to keep it after the passover in the second. This indulgence of a second passover did not extend to persons that were clean, and were within distance, who, if they neglected to celebrate the festival in the first month, were liable to be cut off by the hand of the judges, or by God himself, as a punishment for their omission.

I shall conclude this chapter with observing, that from the story of Barabbas in the New Testament, it appears that it was a received custom at the passover to give liberty to one prisoner or other. Some think this custom to have been used in memory of Jonathan the son of Saul, whom the people rescued from the hands of his father. Others suppose the occasion was, that the feast might be celebrated with the greater joy. Others more probably think it was done in remembrance of their freedom and deliverance from the Egyptian bondage.

[a] See vol. i. p. 163.

CHAP. IV.

The original of sacrifices. The rites of sacrificing.

THE greatest instance of public worship among the Hebrews was the offering of sacrifices, a very early testimony of devotion, in all probability taking its rise from the fall of Adam. They were either eucharistical, expressions of thankfulness for blessings received; or expiatory, offered for the remission of sin. Whether these sacrifices were first taken up at pleasure, or positively instituted and commanded by God, might admit of a very large inquiry. But to me the case seems plainly this: that as to eucharistical sacrifices, such as firstfruits, and the like oblations, men's own reason might suggest and persuade them that it was most fit to present them, as the most natural significations of a thankful mind. And thus far there might be sacrifices in the state of innocence; for man, being created under such excellent circumstances as he was in Paradise, could not but know that he owed to God all possible obedience and subjection. Obedience he owed him as his Lord, and gratitude as his Benefactor; and therefore was obliged to pay him some eucharistical sacrifices, as a testimony of his grateful acknowledgment that he had both his being and preservation from him. But when sin had changed the scene, and mankind was sunk under a state of guilt, he was then to seek for a way how to pacify God's anger; and this was done by bloody and expiatory sacrifices, which God accepted in the sinner's stead. And as to these, it seems reasonable to suppose that they should be founded upon a positive institution; because pardon of sin being a matter of pure grace CHAP. IV.

BOOK IV. and favour, whatever was a means to signify and convey that, must be appointed by God himself, first revealed to Adam, and by him communicated to his children. The Deity propitiated by these atonements was used to testify his acceptance of them by some external and visible sign. Thus Cain sensibly perceived that God had respect to Abel's sacrifice, and not to his; though what this sign was, it is not easy to determine. Most probably it was fire from heaven, coming down upon the oblation, and consuming it; for so it frequently was in the sacrifices of the Mosaic dispensation. And so we find it was in that famous sacrifice of Abraham, a lamp of fire passed between the parts of the sacrifice. Thus when it is said that *God had respect to Abel and to his offering*, Theodotion renders it, *He burnt it.* This seems to be a reasonable account of the institution of sacrifices. However, this is certain, that when God delivered his laws to Moses, he did not positively require the Hebrews to offer sacrifices, either because they were commanded before, or he supposed they would willingly pay him that tribute, having been long accustomed to it, as all the world then was.

Gen. xv. 17.

Ἐνεπύρισεν.

Book ii. p. 370.

I think, says Mr. Mede, a sacrifice should be defined thus; "an offering whereby the offerer is made "partaker of his God's table, in token of covenant "and friendship with him:" or more explicitly thus, "an offering unto the Divine Majesty of that "which is given for the food of man, that the "offerer partaking thereof, might, as by way of "pledge, be certified of his acceptation into covenant "and fellowship with his God, by eating and drinking at his table." St. Augustin comes toward this

notion, when he defines a sacrifice, though in a larger sense, "that which we devote, dedicate, and render "unto God for this end, that we may have a holy "society and fellowship with him." In short, sacrifices are a sort of federal feasts, wherein God condescends to entertain mankind to eat or to drink with or before him, in token of favour and reconcilement; for, says that judicious writer, so it becomes the condition of the parties, that he which hath offended the other, and seeks for favour and forgiveness, should be entertained by him to whom he is obnoxious, and not *e contra*, that is, that God should be the *convivator*, the entertainer or maker of the feast, and man the *conviva* or guest. To which end the viands for this sacred *epulum* were first to be offered unto God, and so made his, that he might entertain the offerer, and not the offerer him; for we are to observe that what the fire consumed was accounted as God's own mess, and called by himself *the meat of his fire offerings:* the rest was for his guests, which they were partakers of either by themselves, as in all peace offerings; or by their proxies the priests, as in the rest, to wit, the holocausts, the sin and trespass offerings. CHAP. IV. Levit. iii. 11, 16. Numb. xxviii. 2.

It must be observed that every sacrifice is an oblation or offering; but every offering, strictly speaking, is not a sacrifice. And though the words are frequently used indifferently, yet in a proper acceptation there is a wide difference between them; for tithes, firstfruits, and all other called *heave offerings* in the law, and whatever indeed is consecrated to God, are offerings or oblations, but none of them sacrifices, nor ever so called in the Old Testament. A sacrifice therefore is an offering that

BOOK IV. was slain, and they are properly distinguished into burnt offerings, sin offerings, trespass offerings, and peace offerings. These shall be explained in the order they lie. But first it will be useful to inquire into the several rites and ceremonies that were used by the Hebrews in their sacrifices, whether of divine or human appointment, taking notice only beforehand of that general division of sacrifices so often to be met with in the Jewish writers, into *holy* and *most holy*. All burnt offerings, trespass offerings, all sin offerings, and peace offerings, that were public, and belonged to the whole nation of Israel, were accounted most holy. Other sacrifices, that is, the peace offerings of private persons, the firstlings of creatures, the tithe of them, and the paschal lamb, are reckoned less holy. The most holy were slain upon the north side of the altar, the less holy upon the east or south. The skins of the most holy sacrifices, whether public or private, except such as were ordered to be burnt whole, belonged to the priests; but of the less holy belonged to the persons that offered. The most holy were either not to be eaten at all, or by the priests only, and the males of their family, and that in a holy place; but the less holy might be eaten by men and women indifferently in the city of Jerusalem.

In ancient time every man performed the office of a priest in his own family; but that liberty was taken away by the law of Moses, because it had been abused to idolatry, and every man was bound to bring his sacrifice to the door of the tabernacle, to be offered upon the altar, where none but the sons of Aaron could officiate, and every thing was done under the eye of the ministers of religion, and the

governors of the people. And this placing of the victim before the door of the tabernacle, or before the altar, is called *the offering of him up to God,* and is different from that offering of him that was performed afterwards when he was slain. The Hebrew doctors explain this precept by saying, that while the tabernacle was fixed in Shiloh, it was unlawful to sacrifice in any other place; but when it wandered uncertainly, when Shiloh was destroyed, being sometimes in Mispeh, sometimes at Gilgal, and at Nob and Gibeon, and the house of Obededom, they might sacrifice elsewhere; for Samuel did so, and David, and Elias. But these may be thought extraordinary acts, done by an immediate warrant from God; for none of these persons were priests, but prophets, and directed by inspiration from above. Whoever sacrificed any where but at the place of public worship, was to be punished with death as a murderer, if he was a wilful offender; if he did it ignorantly, he was to atone by a sin offering. And the victim, thus killed in an unlawful place, the Jews say, was to be burnt.

Outram de Sacrif. cap. 15. lib. 1.

1 Sam. vii. 9. ix. 13. 1 Kings xviii. 23.

The time appointed for sacrificing was in the day: then was the victim to be slain, and his blood sprinkled; but his inwards might burn upon the altar till the next morning, though they generally took care that they should be consumed before the middle of the night.

The principal sacrifices among the Hebrews consisted of bullocks, sheep, and goats; for though doves and turtles were accepted when men were not able to bring the other, yet in public sacrifices these birds were not allowed, but only the three sorts of four-footed beasts above mentioned; which were

BOOK IV. therefore chosen, because they were the most excellent of all brute creatures upon several accounts, and because they were not hard to be found, but easily procured. No wild beasts were required to be offered, because God would not impose upon his people so great a burden as to bring him that which could not be got without difficulty; for which reason also young pigeons and turtles were only offered among birds. And as they were most ready at hand, and in common use among men at their tables, so they had been anciently used among religious people in their sacrifices. And it is likely that the Hebrews were restrained peculiarly to these, that they might not follow the customs of the Gentiles, as they would have done, had they not been abridged in their liberty.

All burnt offerings of beasts were to be males, and without blemish; but in burnt offerings of birds neither the sex nor blemishes were inquired into: only turtles were to be full grown, and the pigeons must be young. But peace offerings might be females, and so might sin offerings; but all were to be without blemish. The beast was to be perfect, to want none of its parts, nor to have any defect. The law of Moses reckons twelve blemishes, but the Jewish rabbies twenty-three, which render a beast imperfect and unfit for sacrifice. If a beast was blind, or had but one eye, or had the thigh or leg bones broken, or had the eyebrows or lips slit or cut off, or had a wen, or the scurvy, or the mange, or had any inequality or disproportion in those parts that were pairs, as the eyes or legs, or had one part less or more contracted than the other, these were not to be offered as a sacrifice upon the

altar. But a beast that had these two last defects, CHAP. IV.
though it was not admitted for a sacrifice, yet it was received for a freewill offering, which was sometimes given to the priest for some sacred use; to be sold, for instance, for the reparation of the temple, for which it was accepted. But a beast with those blemishes was not accepted for a vow, though it was for a freewill offering, from which a vow was widely different; there being no obligation to offer the former, as there was the latter; and a less perfect creature was accepted in the one case, though not in the other.

Any beast whose testicles were bruised, or broken, or crushed, or cut, was forbidden to be sacrificed; for these four ways they used to castrate a lamb, for instance, and so they did with kids and calves. Josephus says that it was unlawful among the Jews to geld any creature; which was prohibited in order to keep them from doing so with men, which, they were taught, was abominable. A pious man of another nation, that observed the precepts of the sons of Noah, and was a worshipper of the true God, might bring a sacrifice to be offered upon the altar; but the priest was forbidden to accept of any sacrifices that had the forenamed blemishes from a Gentile, who perhaps might think them not unacceptable, because the heathens made no scruple to offer castrated beasts to their gods, though their laws in some places were against it. If a priest accepted such spontaneous offerings with those blemishes upon them, he was to be scourged.

No beast was to be offered as a sacrifice before it was seven days old, because till that time it was unfit to be eaten. Nor was it permitted to offer the

BOOK IV. young one and the dam both in one day, lest the young one should happen to be killed before the dam, which would have been the greatest grief to her; and therefore the persons, who sold beasts for sacrifices near the temple, were obliged to certify whether the dam or the young one of such a beast had been lately sold.

The rites of sacrificing were various; and, as the Jews distinguish, some were proper to the persons who brought the offering, and some to the priests. The persons themselves were to lay their hands upon the head of the victim, to kill him, to flay him, to cut him up, and to wash his inwards; but the priests were to receive the blood, to sprinkle it, to look after the fire, to dispose the wood, and to lay the members upon the altar; and whatever offices related to the altar belonged to the priests.

The man that brought a sacrifice led him up into the court of the tabernacle, and afterwards into the inner court of the temple, and stood with him before the altar with his face to the west, as in the sight of God. The most holy sacrifices were led through the gate of the court upon the north, called *the gate of offering;* the less holy were led through the southern gate; and the victims that were young and tender had their feet tied, and were carried in by the persons that owned them.

Then was he to lay his two hands, pressing with all his force, upon the head of the victim between his two horns; though some conceive that the laying on of one hand was sufficient; yet the practice of Aaron, who laid his two hands upon the goat on the day of expiation, became a general canon, and two hands were commonly laid on. This imposition

of hands was followed by a confession of sin in this form: "I have sinned, O God, I have transgressed "and rebelled, I have done this or that, (naming "the particular offence,) but now I repent, and let "this victim be my expiation;" that is, let the punishment which I have deserved fall upon the head of this my sacrifice. And this confession of sin was thought so necessary, that without it the sacrifice was attended with no cleansing quality, and was wholly ineffectual. This is the opinion of all the Hebrew doctors; and Abarbanel particularly, in his comments upon the fourteenth chapter of Leviticus, says expressly, that confession was necessary to be added to every sacrifice for sin. And another of them declares, that where there is no confession of sins there is no imposition of hands; because the imposition of hands belongs to confession. This confession, or prayer, was of no force, unless the person stood with his face towards the temple; for it was a general rule, that whoever prayed out of the land of Israel should always look towards the land of Israel: if he was within the land of Israel he was to turn his face towards Jerusalem; if he was in Jerusalem he was to look towards the temple; if he was in the temple he should direct his prayer towards the sanctuary; if he stood in the sanctuary he was to turn towards the most holy place. The person was to wash his hands clean before he laid them upon the beast; he could not substitute another to do this office for him; and if the sacrifice belonged to more than one, they were all to lay their hands upon it one after another. But if the person chanced to die before his hands were imposed, his heir led the victim to the altar,

CHAP. IV.

Outram. de Sacr. p. 170.

Levit. v. 5. Outram. p. 166.

BOOK IV. and laid his hands upon him, and provided the libation that was proper to him. This imposition could not be lawfully executed by a person that was no Israelite, or that was a fool, or a minor, or a servant, or that was dumb or blind. And women had no authority to lay their hands but upon free-will offerings. This rite was always used upon private sacrifices, except upon the firstlings and tithe of beasts, and the paschal lamb. No public sacrifices, as some suppose, were devoted by imposition of hands, but the goat upon the day of expiation, and the bullocks that were sin offerings for the whole people of Israel when they had sinned through ignorance; and in this case the elders, as representatives of the nation, were to lay their hands upon the head of the victim. But there is an instance that contradicts this opinion; for king Hezekiah and the congregation laid their hands upon the heads of the he-goats that were public sacrifices for all Israel. And therefore it may be reasonable to think, that all public sin offerings, whose blood was carried into the holy place, were devoted by imposition of hands.

Levit. iv. 15.

2 Chron. xxix. 23.

There were some victims on which hands were not laid as soon as they were led up to the altar, but were first waved before the Lord; and it was an established canon, that all waving was done by the assistance of the priest. This waving preceded the killing of the beast, as there was another that sometimes followed it. The owner placed his hands under the victim; and the priest standing in the court near the altar, laid his hands under the hands of the offerer; and so they waved the beast this way and that way towards each quarter of the

world; and upwards and downwards towards the heavens and the earth, acknowledging that God is the supreme Governor above and below, and every way; though some of the Jews allow but four motions in this ceremony of waving. No person of another nation was concerned in this rite, nor a woman, unless she was suspected of adultery, or had taken upon herself the vow of a Nazarite. The sacrifices upon which this ceremony passed are thus distinguished by the Jews: private peace offerings are devoted by imposition of hands, and are waved only after they are killed; public peace offerings are waved alive and dead, and no hands are laid upon them; the sin offering of the leper is waved only alive, and hands are laid upon it; a whole burnt offering has no occasion of waving. The difference between imposition of hands and waving is thus determined: if more persons than one brought an offering, they were all severally to lay their hands upon it, one could not discharge the ceremony for the rest; but in waving, the case was otherwise, and one might represent the whole number. Laying on of hands was equally used in public and private sacrifices; but private sacrifices, on which hands were imposed, were those only that were waved. No hands were laid but upon living creatures; but inanimate things might be waved, as the loaves upon the feast of Pentecost. CHAP. IV.

In the same place where hands were laid upon the victim was he slain, and that instantly and without delay. The sacrifice was tied down to the rings at the slaughtering place upon the north side of the altar, if it was one of the most holy; but if not, it might be killed in any part of the court, but

BOOK IV. generally towards the east. The victim to be slain was bound his fore legs and hinder legs together, and laid thus bound with his head towards the south, and his face towards the west; and he that killed him stood upon the east side of him, with his face westward, and then cut through the throat and the windpipe at one stroke: the blood was then catched in a bason by another person, who continually stirred it about, lest it should coagulate before it was sprinkled. But the blood of the red cow was always received by the priest in his left hand. The killing of the sacrifice was regularly and ordinarily the office of the priests; yet it might upon occasion be done by another, by a woman, a servant, or unclean person, who, though he could not come into the court, yet was allowed to stand without, and by stretching his hand within to slay the sacrifice. But this rite could not be discharged by a person that was deaf, or a fool, or a minor, who were not qualified to attend to the sacred action they were about.

The birds offered for sacrifice were to be killed only by the priests. The manner of offering birds was thus: if they came for a burnt offering, the priest went up the rise of the altar, and turned off to the circuit, and there at the south-east corner he wrung off their heads, or, as the Jews say, pinched them off with his nail. And some are of opinion that they were not to be separated quite from the body, but to be left still hanging to it. Then were they opened, and their blood wrung out upon the side of the altar. Their feathers were pulled off, which were no more to be offered than the skins of beasts; and the crop, or stomach taken out (that

the sacrifice might be clean and free from filth) and cast into the ashes on the east side of the altar. The wings were divided, but not separated from the body, which being sprinkled with salt were thrown into the fire. This sacrifice of birds, the Jews say, was the most difficult work in the sanctuary. If the birds came for a sin offering, the priest pinched off their heads, sprinkled the blood upon the side of the altar, squeezed out the rest of the blood at the foundation, and then took the birds for himself. In sprinkling the blood of these birds, either for burnt offering or sin offering, the manner was different from the sprinkling of the blood of beasts; for the blood of beasts in burnt offerings was sprinkled beneath upon the altar, below the red line that went about it, and the blood of sin offerings above; but the blood of birds, when they were offered for burnt offerings, was sprinkled above, and when for sin offerings it was sprinkled below. CHAP. IV.

The sprinkling of the blood belonged to the priests only, and was always done before the sacrifice was flayed; for the law gives directions concerning sprinkling before there is mention of flaying at all. The blood to be sprinkled was to be taken in a vessel separated for that use; for it was an established maxim, that the blood must be received in a vessel hallowed for the service. These several sorts of persons were unqualified to sprinkle the blood; if they did, it was polluted: a stranger, or one that was not a priest; a priest that was in his mourning; he who had been unclean, so that he was to wash that day, and his sun was not yet down; he who had been under a longer uncleanness, and his atonement not yet made; a priest who Levit. i. 5, 6.

BOOK IV. was not clothed in all the holy vestments; one uncircumcised; one that was unclean; one who sat or stood upon any thing but the pavement of the court whilst he received the blood; he who took the blood with his left hand; but this opinion is not generally received: and whereas there was a red line round about the altar, just in the middle, if the blood that was to be sprinkled below was sprinkled above, or if that which was to be sprinkled above was sprinkled below, it was accounted unlawful.

The manner of sprinkling the blood upon the altar, and the circumstances belonging to it, were various: the blood of some victims was carried into the holy place; such were all sin offerings of a public nature, that were offered for the whole nation; the goat likewise that was offered for all Israel, and the bullock presented for the family of Aaron, both slain upon the day of expiation; and such was the bullock offered as a sin offering by the high priest himself. The blood of other victims was either sprinkled upon the horns or upon the sides of the great altar that stood without. Sin offerings of bullocks, sheep, or goats, had some of their blood sprinkled, or rather put upon the horns of the altar: for this purpose the priest, with the blood in his hand, goes up the ascent of the altar, and standing upon the second in-benching at the horn, between the east and the south, he dips the forefinger of his right hand in the blood, and pressing it with his thumb, he tinges with the blood that horn of the altar first; then he cleans his finger upon the brim of the basin, and dips it again, (for he was to dip his finger at every horn,) and so tinges every

Levit. iv. 16. xvi. 14, 15.

horn till he came to the south-west horn, at which the sprinkling of the blood always ended. The blood that remained was poured out at the bottom of the altar, upon the west side, and was carried by a subterraneous passage into the valley of Kedron, and sold to the gardeners to fatten their grounds. CHAP. IV.

The blood of burnt offerings, trespass offerings, and peace offerings, was sprinkled upon the sides of the altar, and was done by one rule in this manner: the priest, as he stood upon the east side of the altar, near to the north-east corner, was to cast the blood out of the vessel, with such a compassed extension of his arm, that part of it might fall upon the east side on which he stands, and part of it upon the north side, and on both sides below the red line that went round about. And thus was he to do standing upon the west side, near the south-west corner, that part of it might fall upon the west side on which he stood, and part of it on the south. And thus they thought they fulfilled the law, which commanded, that the blood should be sprinkled round about the altar. Levit. i. 5.

The blood of some sacrifices was carried into the holy place, and put upon the horns of the golden altar, or the altar of incense; such were the bullocks that were offered as a sin offering for the high priest and the whole nation of Israel; and such were the goats that were appointed as expiatory sacrifices for strange worship. The blood of such victims was sprinkled seven times towards the veil before the most holy place; and then some of it was put upon each horn of the altar, beginning at that between the east and the north, and ending at that between the east and the south, which was di- Numb. xv. 24.

BOOK IV rectly contrary to the method used in tinging the horns of the other altar.

The blood of the bullock that was offered for a sin offering upon the day of expiation for the family of Aaron, and the goat that was offered for all Israel, was carried by the high priest into the holy of holies. The blood of these sacrifices was sprinkled once upwards towards the mercy-seat, and seven times downwards; then the high priest returned with the blood into the holy place, and sprinkled it in the same manner towards the veil; that is, once above, and seven times below. The blood of each victim was yet separate in different vessels, but now it was mixed in one; and the high priest with his finger stained with it the horns of the golden altar, and seven times he put some of the blood upon the top of it; and what remained was poured at the bottom of the great altar without.

In Biath. Mikdash, per. 9.

The ceremony that followed sprinkling was the flaying of the sacrifices; and this office, as Maimonides asserts, did not so inseparably belong to the priests, but one of another tribe or a stranger might do it. "The flaying of the sacrifice," says he, "and the "dividing of it into pieces, and the bringing of wood "to the altar, might be done by strangers, and it was "lawful." And it was his opinion, that it was lawful for strangers to kill even the most holy sacrifices. But this was not allowed but at the times of public festivals, when the offerings were so many that the priests could not serve to kill and flay them. The beast to be flayed was hung by the legs upon the hooks that were fastened in the low pillars, (mentioned in our view of the second temple,) and in the transom over them for that purpose. Then did

the priest or the offerer begin to flay him. Infinite almost are the ceremonies mentioned by the Jewish writers that relate to flaying of the victims; but the principal are these: he flayed him till he came down to the breast; and when he was gone so far he cut off his head, and gave it to him that was appointed to take it and carry it to the altar. He cut off the legs, and gave them to another; and so he goes on and flays him out. He then cuts open the heart, and cleanses it of the blood; cuts out the two shoulders, and gives them to him that was to carry them; cuts off the right leg, and with it the stones; opens him quite, and takes out the fat, and lays it at the slaughter-place: he takes out the bowels, and gives them some to wash, who first washed them well in the washing-room, that the court might not be daubed with ordure, and then washed them a little again upon the marble tables, conceiving that the coldness of the marble would correct the offensive smell of the inwards, and preserve them from stinking in hot weather. Then he takes the knife, and divides between the lights and the liver, but takes them not out yet; he cuts off the breast, and gives it to him that was to carry it; and so goes along the right side, and cuts that out, and goes down to the spine bones, and there cuts out the loins; and so proceeds till the beast was cut up as he ought to be, and gives the pieces to the priests, whose business it was to carry them to the altar. CHAP. IV.

It is a tradition among the Jews, that eight priests were required to carry the parts of a sheep or a goat, a ram was to be borne by eleven, and a bullock by twenty-four, including the meat and drink offerings that belonged severally to these sa- Reland, pars iii. c. 1. Levit. ii. 13. In Issure Mizbeabh. per. 5. Levit. ii. 2.

BOOK IV. crifices. The priests, with the parts of the divided sacrifice in their hands, go to the rise of the altar, and there lay them down and salt them. The law of Moses in this case was very strict, which commanded them to offer salt with all their sacrifices, and their observance of it was answerably strict also; for nothing (says Maimonides) came upon the altar unsalted, but only the wine of the drink offering, and blood sprinkled, and the wood of the fire. And in three places they used salt; in the chamber of salt they salted the skins of the sacrifices; upon the rise of the altar they salted the parts of the sacrifices; and upon the top of the altar they salted the handful of flour, and oil, and the frankincense, and the offerings that were to be burnt, and the burnt offerings of birds. This practice was solemnly enjoined in opposition to the custom of the heathens, who did not use any salt in their sacrifices. And among the Jews this salt was not brought by him that offered the sacrifice, but was provided at the public charge. And this ceremony of salting was so necessary, that though a sacrifice was not looked upon as null, if the priest neglected to salt it; yet the want of it in the meat offerings made them void. And the learned Selden observes, that whoever offered a sacrifice without salt, or with honey or leaven, was liable to a corporal punishment. This salt was called *the salt of the covenant;* because the sacrifices being God's feasts, and they who partook of them being his guests, who in a manner eat and drink with him at his table, the salt that was cast upon the sacrifices was styled *the salt of the covenant;* to signify, that as men were used to make covenants by eating and drinking to-

De Synedr. lib. ii. c. 13.

Levit. ii. 13.

gether, (where salt is a necessary appendix at every feast,) so God by these sacrifices, and the feasts upon them, did ratify and confirm his covenant with those that partook of them. CHAP. IV.

The parts of the sacrifice being salted, the priest that was to offer them, took them up, carried them up the ascent to the altar, and threw them confusedly into the fire. He cut out the sinew that shrank, (without any command from Moses,) and threw it into the ashes; for though the law enjoined, that the pieces should be laid in order upon the fire; and though their manner was to lay the beast upon the fire, as nearly as they could, to resemble his posture whilst he was alive; yet at the first laying of them on, they thought they found some colour in the law, which obliged them to scatter the flesh, as well as to sprinkle the blood; and therefore they threw the parts at first upon the fire without distinction, and then they disposed them in the manner they were to be consumed.

Some victims were burnt upon the altar in the court, as the whole burnt offering; and others were consumed without the city, where the ashes of the altar were laid, as those victims that were slain out of due time; as if the priests should be deceived by the moon, and kill the daily sacrifice before sunrising: all the most holy sacrifices that contracted a pollution in the court were burnt there, which was always done by the priests; such of the most holy that were polluted without the court, were consumed without the court, which might be done by others beside priests. The parts of some sacrifices might be burnt in private houses, as the remainder of the less holy sacrifices, which as it might

BOOK IV. be eaten in any part of Jerusalem, so it might be burnt; but all burning, of what kind soever, must be finished in the day time.

Burnt offerings were wholly consumed; but the parts of some sacrifices were eaten, as of trespass and sin offerings, (if they were not made for the whole people, or the high priest, which were burnt without the camp,) and of meat offerings. These, and public peace offerings, were to be eaten by the priests alone of the family that was in ministering, and that within the courts of the temple. The breast and the right shoulder of private peace offerings were not confined to the males of the sacerdotal line, but might be eaten by the wives of the priests, and their daughters, whether they were maidens or widows, or divorced and returned to their father's house without children, or had children begotten by a priest, together with their servants also, whether bought with their money, or born in their house, though not hired servants, or mere sojourners. But these parts of the sacrifice were to be eaten in a clean place in any part of Jerusalem, and no unclean person was admitted to partake of them. If a priest that was under any legal impurity presumed to eat of holy things, he was either degraded from his function, no more to minister at the altar, which was the act of a judge, or cut off, which was done by the hand of Heaven. The case was the same with regard to tithes and the paschal lamb; but firstlings were eaten by the priests alone. The portion of holy things that every priest was to take was determined by lot, and they had liberty to dress it in what manner they thought fit. Some Jews are of opinion, that when any Israelite killed

Numb. xviii. 11.

an ox, a sheep, or a goat, for his own use, he was bound to give the priest the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw. The parts that were not given to the priests, nor burnt upon the altar, belonged to the owners, and, if they had no uncleanness, might be eaten by themselves and families in any part of Jerusalem. CHAP. IV.

The time of eating the sacrifices is thus stated: all sin offerings, trespass offerings, and public peace offerings, were to be eaten upon the day they were offered. This was observed in most of their sacred feasts; and the design of this injunction was to maintain the honour and dignity of the sacrifices, that they might be in no danger to be corrupted, or turned to any profane use, or gratify the covetousness of the owners. "It was not fit," says Philo in his book of sacrifices, "that these holy things "should be put into their cupboards, but immedi- "ately be set before those who were in need; for "they were no longer his that offered them, but his "to whom they were offered; who being himself "most liberal and bountiful, would have guests in- "vited to his table, to partake with those that of- "fered the sacrifice; whom he would not have to "look upon themselves as masters of the feast; for "they are but ministers of the feast, not the makers "or entertainers. That belongs to God himself, "whose bounty ought not to be concealed, by pre- "ferring sordid parsimony before generous huma- "nity." The design of this writer is to intimate, that all the sacrifice was properly God's own, who graciously indulged him that offered it a part of it, to entertain his friends and the poor, whom he would have invited out of hand, that no part of it might

Levit. vii. 15.

Outram de Sacr. lib. i. c. 17.

BOOK IV. be converted to any other use, but that which God appointed, who made the feast.

All private peace offerings, the firstlings of cattle, and the tithe, were to be eaten either upon the day of offering, the night after, or the day following before sun-set: if they were not eaten by this time they were to have no benefit of the flesh, but what remained on the third day was to be burnt; and this, as the Jews speak, was to preserve the dignity of the sacrifice, in preventing its stinking; and there was no nobler way of consuming it than by fire, which devoured the sacrifice upon the altar. If any of these sacrifices were eaten upon the third day, it was wholly ineffectual, and procured no favour from God to the offerer, whom it rendered abominable, and made liable to be scourged. If the flesh of these peace offerings happened to touch any unclean thing, as they carried it from the altar to the place where they designed to feast upon it, it was not to be eaten at all.

Levit. vii. 18, 19.

The places of eating were various: some sacrifices were eaten in the outward court; or, while the tabernacle stood, within the curtains that surrounded it; others without the court, in any place of Jerusalem that had no legal uncleanness. While the tabernacle stood at Shiloh, the most holy sacrifices were eaten within the curtains; the less holy, in any place from whence Shiloh might be seen.

It was the office of the priests to stir the fire upon the altar, to blow the coals, and to lay on a supply of wood for the consuming of the sacrifices. If the fire was taken off from the altar, as when they removed the camp, none might lay it on again but the priests. Or if it were extinct, as it was in

Numb. iv. 14.

the days of Ahaz, who shut up the temple, which was not open till Hezekiah reigned, none but they might kindle it again. This fire was preserved, if we believe tradition, by supplying it with wood four times a day; but five times upon the day of expiation; but especially when the time of the morning and evening sacrifice came, the priests brought new wood, and placed it in such order upon the fire, that it might the better consume the parts of the sacrifice that were laid upon it. CHAP. IV. 2 Chron. xxviii. 24.

These are the principal ceremonies observed by the Hebrews in their sacrifices, which were proper to be considered in a general view, before the particular sorts of sacrifices came to be explained.

CHAP. V.

Holocausts, or whole burnt offerings.

HOLOCAUSTS, (as the Greeks speak,) or victims wholly consumed by fire, were the most ancient sacrifices that were in the world. They are often mentioned by the heathen writers, particularly by Xenophon, who says that they sacrificed whole burnt offerings of oxen to Jupiter, and afterwards of horses to the sun. Sometimes indeed the heathen burnt only a part, and reserved the rest to feast upon; but among the Jews no man ever partook of these offerings; for there being four sorts of sacrifices prescribed by the law, the whole burnt offerings, the sin offerings, the trespass offerings, and the peace offerings, there was this difference made between them: that of the first of these, whether it was a public or a private whole burnt offering, no Cyropædia, lib. viii.

BOOK IV. person had any part, not so much as the priests; but it was entirely consumed, except the skin. Of the second some part was burnt, and the rest the priests had, and were to eat it in the court of the tabernacle; though there was one sort of sin offering which was wholly consumed, as the burnt offerings were. The third sort, which were trespass offerings, were only offered for private persons; some part of which, as in the former, was burnt upon the altar, and the rest eaten by the priests. As for the last, the peace offering, some parts of such sacrifices were burnt upon the altar, the priest had the breast and the right shoulder, and what remained he that brought the sacrifice eat with his friends.

It is disputed among the learned of the Jews what should be the occasion of these holocausts, and upon what account they came to be offered. They are supposed by some to have been simple acknowledgments of God the creator of the universe, and evidences that they owned him to be their Lord, and continued in covenant with him, and implored his blessing; and therefore, with respect to the first and last of these considerations, the Gentiles (as the Jews say) were allowed to bring these sacrifices, and no other, to be offered unto God. But others with better reason conclude, that either they were to expiate for the evil thoughts of the heart, as sin offerings and trespass offerings were to do for evil actions; or to atone for the breach of affirmative precepts, as those did for negative.

The rites used in sacrificing this victim may be found in the preceding chapter; only it may be observed, that the legs and the intestines were not

laid upon the altar till they were washed clean in water; for which purpose there was an apartment called *the washing-room* in the court of the temple. The fat likewise was thrown into the fire, to feed it; by which means the other parts into which the sacrifice was divided were the sooner consumed. This fat, the Jews say, was laid upon the head of the sacrifice when it was cast into the fire, exactly in the place where the head was separated from the body; because otherwise the gore which issued from it might have damped the briskness of the flame. The priest had no share of the flesh, or of the fat; but the skin was allowed him for his pains. CHAP. V.

As burnt offerings were the principal sacrifices, so those of beeves were the chief of all burnt offerings; but if a person was unable to bring such a victim, he was permitted to offer a male of the sheep, or of the goats, but without blemish. And if this proved too expensive, he was indulged the favour of bringing a bird, a turtle-dove, or a young pigeon, which was wholly consumed. It was otherwise ordained with respect to birds offered for sin, of which nothing but the blood belonged to the altar, the flesh of them being eaten by the priests and their sons; whence it was that no sin offering of birds was accepted, unless it were accompanied with a whole burnt offering, that the altar might not be without a feast, when they that ministered there were entertained.

Beside the holocausts that were appointed for particular occasions, there were two burnt offerings ordained, called *the daily sacrifice*, according to which all others were to be regulated; and these were so stated and constant, that they were never in-

BOOK IV. termitted, not upon festivals, when other sacrifices were added. These offerings were made, the one in the morning about nine o'clock, and the other about three in the afternoon; and each consisted of a lamb of the first year without blemish, and perfect in its kind. The morning sacrifice was consumed by a quicker fire, that there might be room for other sacrifices that were commonly offered after it, and were only offered in the morning; but if no other victims were to succeed it at that time, it is probable that this was kept burning till the evening sacrifice, that the altar of God might always have meat upon it. The evening sacrifice was usually burning upon the altar from the evening (at which the Jews began their day) till the morning; for which purpose the priests watched all night, and put the sacrifice upon the altar piece by piece, that it might be consumed by a slow and gentle fire. The rites which the priest was to observe in offering this sacrifice were these: he was to put on his linen garments, and his linen breeches, to cover his secret parts, and to take the ashes of the wood that was consumed, and carry them to the east part of the altar, as far as might be from the most holy place. These ashes were afterwards removed by the priests in their common habits into a clean place without the camp. After the temple was built they were carried through the east gate of the city into a valley which lay between Jerusalem and mount Olivet. The priests were always to take care that in taking up the ashes the fire might still remain, and not be extinguished.

These sacrifices, the Jews observe, were a constant acknowledgment of God's sovereign dominion,

and were in the nature of a daily prayer, that he would graciously continue his mercy to Israel. They were attended with a meat offering of flour mingled with oil, and with a drink offering of wine. By this means they confessed that they received their corn, wine, and oil from the hand of Providence; and God was represented as dwelling among them in the sanctuary, where this daily sacrifice was the constant provision made for his table, (as the altar is called,) and bread and wine were a necessary attendant (as they are at all tables) upon the meat that was set before him. Some are of opinion that the daily sacrifice was disused all the time the Israelites were in the wilderness; but it is improbable that sacrifices were wholly omitted during that space, though perhaps not so regularly performed as when they came to Canaan; for to suppose that, is to say, that the fire from heaven either went out, or burnt continually to no purpose, and that the Divine Majesty had no entertainment set upon his table, and consequently did not keep house and dwell among them all that time. CHAP. V.

Burnt offerings might be offered voluntarily for a vow, or a freewill offering. Some were positively enjoined by the law of Moses, as in these instances that are recorded in scripture. A ram at the consecration of priests. In case of the four trespasses mentioned in the fifth chapter of Leviticus, the person transgressing was to bring either a turtle or a pigeon for a burnt offering. At the initiation of Aaron and his sons to their office, there was a ram offered for Aaron, and a calf and a lamb of the first year for the people. At the purification of women a lamb was burnt: if she was poor, then a turtle or Lev. xxii. 18. Exod. xxix. 18. Lev. viii. 18. Lev. v. 7, 10. ix. 23. Lev. xii. 6.

BOOK IV. a pigeon. A leper was commanded to offer at his cleansing two he lambs and one ewe lamb; one he lamb was spent in a trespass offering; and though the text does not say whether the burnt offering were a he or a she lamb, yet by the canon, that none but males must be sacrificed in the burnt offering, therefore I conclude it was a he lamb, if the leper was able; if not, a turtle or a pigeon. At the cleansing of separated women a turtle or young pigeon. At the restitution of a Nazarite, in case of defilement, a turtle or a pigeon. At the end of his separation, or manumission from his vow, a he lamb. At the dedication of the tabernacle each of the twelve princes of Israel offered a bullock, a lamb, and a ram. At the consecration of the Levites a bullock. For a sin of ignorance of the whole congregation a bullock also. These victims hitherto mentioned were instituted upon the incident cases as they are expressed.

Lev. xiv. 12, 20, 22.

Lev. xv. 30.

Numb. vi. 11, 14.

Numb. vii. 15. viii. 12.

Numb. xv. 24.

There remain yet the constant burnt offerings, which were these: The daily sacrifice of two lambs, which were burnt together with their meat offering and drink offering upon the altar. Upon every seventh day, or sabbath, four lambs. Upon every new moon distinctly for itself as a new moon, or first day of the month, two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs. Upon the fifteenth day of the first or passover month, being the first of the seven days of that great festivity after the passover, two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs; and so for seven days continually. In the sheaf of the firstfruits, one he lamb. In the feast of firstfruits, if we consult the Levitical book, we find seven lambs, one bullock, and two rams; but in the Book of Numbers, seven

Exod. xxix. 42.

Numb. xxviii. 3, 9, 10, 11, 19, 24.

Lev. xxiii. 12, 18.

Numb. xxviii. 27.

lambs, one ram, and two bullocks. In the first day of the seventh month, or the feast of trumpets, one bullock, one ram, and seven lambs. Upon the tenth day of the seventh month, or the day of expiation, one bullock, one ram, and seven lambs. Besides this offering there was a ram for the high priest himself, and another for all the people. Upon the fifteenth day of the seventh month, being the beginning of the feast of tabernacles, thirteen bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs, and so constantly for seven days; only every day there decreased one bullock from the offerings, till at the seventh day there were but seven bullocks. Upon the eighth and last day there was offered but one of each. CHAP. V. Numb. xxix. 2, 8. Lev. xvi. 3, 5.

CHAP. VI.

Sin offerings.

THE law of Moses concerning sin offerings gives no other account of the occasion of them, but this, that they were to be offered for sins ignorantly committed against any of the commandments of the Lord concerning things which ought not to be done; that is, they were offered for sins of ignorance and inadvertency against negative precepts, which if they had been done wilfully, deserved cutting off. Mr. Mede says, that (if he be not deceived) sin offerings were made for sins against the second table, and trespass offerings against the first. It is certain that the Jews unanimously apply a sin offering to a sin of ignorance only, whose wilfulness had deserved cutting off. And the reason of this limitation arose from the nature of the offence; for whereas they reckoned three hundred threescore and five negative Disc. 51.

BOOK IV. precepts, according to the number of days in the year, yet they computed the number of sin offerings only in reference to three and forty of them; atoning for those sins of ignorance only with sin offerings that came nighest to those of the highest danger, had not the guilt of them been qualified by the ignorance of the offender.

For the distinguishing of sin offerings, it must be observed, that they were either made for the whole
Lev. iv. 13. congregation or for private persons. Of the first sort was the sin offering goat offered upon the day of expiation, but in what manner will be hereafter described. There was another public sin offering appointed, which was a young bullock. The Jewish writers are divided in their opinions about this sacrifice; some contending that it was to be offered by the sanhedrim when they had mistaken in judgment, and by that means had misled the people; and therefore for their error they were bound to offer this sacrifice. But if the words of Moses be well considered, it will appear that this sin offering was made by the sanhedrim for the people, who having ignorantly offended against some of the negative precepts, and though not sensible of their mistake at first, discovering afterwards what precept they had violated, were reconciled by this offering made by the sanhedrim their representatives.

Numb. xv. 24. When the people had fallen by a common error into idolatrous worship, and neglected the laws, or mistook the proper sacrifices ordained by Moses, when they came to see their mistake, and to return to the true religion, they were obliged to offer a kid of the goats for a sin offering. Hence it was that
2 Chron. xxviii. 24. when Hezekiah restored the true worship, after the

temple had been shut up, and the daily sacrifice omitted, and many idolatrous rites used, among other sacrifices he exceeded the letter of the law, and offered seven goats for a sin offering. And so Ezra did at the restoration of the divine service after the captivity of Babylon. CHAP. VI. Ezra viii. 35.

The sin offerings of particular persons were these: the high priest's sin offering bullock upon the day of expiation, whose blood was brought within the veil, and his flesh burnt without the camp. Lev. xvi. 6, 14.

The high priest's bullock for an expiation, if he had ignorantly done what he ought not, or brought a guilt upon the people, either by misinforming them, or drawing them into error by his example. The sacrifice enjoined in this case was a young bullock without blemish; upon whose head having laid his hands, he was solemnly to confess his sin, and to beseech God that he would accept of the victim as his atonement. He killed the bullock in any part of the court but that which was proper to the burnt offerings. Some of the blood he received in a bason, and carried it into the very sanctuary, where he was to dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before the Lord before the veil which parted the holy place from the most holy. He was likewise to tinge the horns of the golden altar with some of the blood, and what remained he poured out at the bottom of the altar of burnt offerings. The manner of sprinkling is thus described: the priest went in and stood between the golden altar and the candlestick, the altar was before him; he dipped in his finger, and sprinkled the blood seven times towards the most holy place; and at every dipping and sprinkling he also put the blood upon Lev. iv. 3, 4, 5, &c.

BOOK IV. a horn of the altar. The suet in this sacrifice was to be separated from the inwards, as in peace offerings, and burnt upon the brasen altar; and then the whole carcass, with the skin upon it, with his entrails and dung, were carried without the camp, cut to pieces, and cast into the fire, (as the burnt offering was laid on the fire upon the altar,) where it was consumed. It was not burnt upon an altar, but in a fire made with wood upon the ground, to shew the heinousness of the offence. The priest who officiated in burning the bullock was obliged to wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water; and then he was allowed to come into the camp. The sin offerings that were not burnt without the camp were eaten by the priests after the fat had been offered upon the altar; but of this, it being for himself, the high priest was not to taste, because he was in a state of guilt. The manner of offering the bullock for the whole congregation had only this different ceremony, that the elders, as the representatives of the people, were to lay their hands upon his head, and then he was to be slain.

If a magistrate or a public officer had committed a sin, and was convinced of the guilt of it, his crime was expiated by a male kid without blemish. What is peculiar in this sacrifice from the sin offerings above mentioned, is, that it was killed where the burnt offering was, and the blood was put upon the horns of the brasen altar. The fat was burnt upon the altar, and the flesh was eaten by the priest and his sons in the sanctuary only, upon condition that they were not legally polluted. If any of the blood of this sacrifice was accidentally sprinkled upon the priest's garment, it was to be washed, because the

sacerdotal vestments would appear less venerable if they were spotted with blood. And the vessel in which the flesh was sodden, if it was not of solid metal, was broken, and no more used, because it had imbibed a tincture that could not be washed out. If it was made of metal, whatever stuck to it was allowed to be rubbed of, and cleansed by water. CHAP. VI.

The guilt of a private person, who had sinned in the same manner with a public officer, was expiated by a kid, which was allowed to be a female, and was ordered as the foregoing sacrifice. If the offender was unable to provide a kid, he was indulged to bring a lamb, and a female, that was of less value. If this proved too expensive, he might offer two turtle-doves or two young pigeons; one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering. But if his poverty would not afford a bird for an atonement, God was pleased to accept an offering of the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour. Yet if, after the man had set aside a little money to buy this flour, his estate was bettered, he was then bound to add so much to it as would buy the birds before prescribed: and likewise if he designed to buy birds, and on a sudden grew richer, he was obliged to provide a lamb or a kid. On the contrary, if a man had set apart money to buy a bullock for his sin offering, and unexpectedly fell into poverty, he might buy two turtles or young pigeons, and by them redeem his money so consecrated. The offerer of this flour was excused the putting of oil upon it, which was costly, and magnificent, and unbecoming the meanness of his person; and of frankincense, which being a thing pleasant, was not fit to be added to an offering for sin, which was offensive in the sight of

BOOK IV. God. A handful of this flour was burnt upon the altar by the priest, who took the remaining part for himself. And thus did the criminal, after he had confessed his sin, atone for his offence.

The occasions, for which this offering was instituted, were either for accidental sins, or to be offered upon set stations of the year. Of the first sort were these: For the sin of the high priest a young bullock. For the whole congregation a young bullock. And for neglecting the Levitical law a kid. For a ruler a male kid of the goats, or a young lamb. At the consecration of a high priest a young bullock. At Aaron's initiation into his office a young calf; and at the same time, for the people, a kid of the goats. At the purification of women a young pigeon or a turtle-dove. At the cleansing of a leper an ewe lamb: if the leper was poor, a turtle or pigeon. At the cleansing of women separated for uncleannesses mentioned in the Levitical law, a turtle or young pigeon. For the defilement of a Nazarite a turtle or pigeon; but at the end of his separation an ewe lamb. At the dedication of the tabernacle every one of the twelve princes of the congregation offered a kid of the goats. At the consecration of the Levites a bullock.

Lev. iv. 3. Numb. xv. 24. Lev. iv. 14. Lev. iv. 23. Numb. xv. 27. Lev. iv. 28, 32. Exod. xxix. 14. Lev. viii. 2, 14. Lev. ix. 2, 3. Lev. xii. 6. Lev. xiv. 19, 22. Lev. xv. 30. Numb. vi. 11, 14. Numb. vii. 16. Numb. viii. 12.

The constant sin offerings throughout the year were these following. On every new moon a kid of the goats. On the fifteenth day of the passover month one goat, and so on for seven days together. On the day of the firstfruits one kid. On the feast of trumpets one kid. Upon the day of expiation a bullock, to atone for the high priest and his family; and two kids of the goats for the people, the one for the offering, the other for an escape into the wilderness, as the lot fell. Another kid of the goats of-

Numb. xxviii. 15, 22, 24, 30. Lev. xxiii. 19. Numb. xxix. 5. Lev. xvi. 6, 7, 9, 10. Numb. xxix. 11, 16.

fered this day for a sin offering. Upon the fifteenth day of the seventh month one kid of the goats, and so for eight days together during the feast of tabernacles. CHAP. VI.

CHAP. VII.

The burning of the red heifer.

THE red heifer, of so famous regard in scripture, appears by the manner of its offering to be justly disposed among the sin offerings, it being the nearest to it of any in the method of its solemnities. It was not a proper sacrifice for sin, but had something of that nature in it, and may be said to purify or cleanse from sin, that is, from certain legal defilements. And it may, in a less proper sense, have the name of a sin offering, inasmuch as the body of it was burnt without the camp, (as the great sin offering was upon the day of atonement,) and its blood sprinkled seven times towards the sanctuary, though not shed at the altar. Numb. xix. 1, &c.

The manner of going about and performing this ceremony was exceeding curious; and their care about the matter was so nice and great, that in none of the ritual observances they shewed more circumspection than in this. Infinite were the niceties and exceptions invented by the latter Jews, in choosing a heifer that was exactly fit for this business. But the law of Moses enjoined no more than that the cow should be red and young, that had never been used in the yoke, that had no blemish, and was without spot; that is, as the Jews interpret, was perfectly red, without the mixture of any other colour: so that if this cow had two hairs black or white, it was unfit for this use.

BOOK IV. Why the law insists upon a young cow rather than a bullock, (which is commonly appointed in sacrifices,) and why one perfectly red, is not so easy to determine. If we had reason to believe that those superstitions were among the Egyptians in the days of Moses which were when Plutarch or Herodotus lived, we might probably say, as some men of learning have, that this precept was given to preserve the Israelites from their religion; for they abhorred to offer a cow, whom they honoured as sacred to Isis: and therefore God, it might be thought, ordered a cow to be burnt rather than a bullock. And for the same cause one perfectly red, because that was a colour odious and abominable to the Egyptians, who fancied Typhon (in their opinion the author of all evil) to be of that colour; and therefore they offered him red oxen, as hateful to them, as red men and red asses were. In opposition to which, it may be thought that a cow of this colour was acceptable to God, because hated and abhorred by those idolaters. But what such late writers say is of small authority in this matter. But supposing the antiquity of those superstitions, and that those customs prevailed in the time of Moses, it can scarce be thought that if that wise lawgiver had had any respect to them, he would have ordered so great a number of sacrifices without the least regard to the colour of any one of them, and only mention the colour of this cow, which was no sacrifice. I rather imagine that this perfect red heifer was made choice of, because such a one was very rare to be found; it being difficult to find a red cow without the least mixture of any other hair. But why this *purification*, as it is call-

Herod. lib. ii. cap. 41.

ed, should be a heifer rather than a bullock, I confess I can give no satisfactory account.

This cow was provided at the common charge of the people; and when one was found proper for the purpose, she was brought by their representatives to the high priest, who was not obliged to do the office himself, but deputed a priest of learning and abilities to go through the solemnity. It was the practice under the second temple, that seven days before the cow was to be burnt, the priest that was to burn her was set apart in a chamber of the temple, which stood in the north-east angle of the court of Israel, called *the house of stone vessels.* And the reason of his separation was, that he might be sure to be free, for all that time, from any pollution by a grave or corpse; for since the ashes of this burnt cow was the great and only purifier from that defilement, it was their greatest care that such should be absolutely free from that pollution who were concerned in burning of her, or in sprinkling her ashes.

When the day of her burning came, she was led without the camp, as a thing exceeding unclean, more impure than any common offering for sin; for the greater the impurity was that was laid upon any sacrifice, the further still it was carried from the sanctuary. And though this was not properly a sacrifice, because it was not slain upon the altar; yet it was a *piaculum,* an *expiatory* thing, and intended for the same purpose. She was killed in a place within the view of the tabernacle by any Israelite, and the priest was to dip his finger in the blood, as in expiatory sacrifices, and to sprinkle it seven times, looking steadfastly towards the sanc-

BOOK IV. tuary while he sprinkled it, otherwise the Jews say it was in vain. Under the second temple they who were concerned in this business walked out at the east gate of the mountain of the temple, and went over the valley of Kidron to mount Olivet, and stood upon the edge of the hill over against the gate where they came out, and in the face of the temple. All the way over the valley there was a causeway made upon double arches, that is, one arch standing upon two, and so levelled upon the surface as made a plain and even way all along. This way was arched at so great an expense, that no graves might be there to defile these passengers; and the place where the cow was burnt upon mount Olivet was arched for the same security.

The elders of the people marched before the priest and his company to the place of burning, and there, when the priest came up, they laid their hands upon him, and ordered him to bathe himself, for there was a place for that purpose, and so he did. Then was the pile of wood made, upon which she was to be burnt; and, tying her legs with cords, they lay her on, her head lying toward the south, and her face turning to the west. The priest standing upon the east side of her, and his face towards the west, kills her with his right hand, and takes the blood with the left. Seven times he sprinkled the blood towards the temple, looking directly over the gate Shushan upon the porch of the temple. The battlements of this gate were, for this very purpose, made lower than the battlements of any other of the gates about the sanctuary, that over it the priest might see the front of the porch, which through it he could not reach to do.

Immediately after sprinkling the blood, he set the

pile on fire, in which this heifer was more entirely consumed than any other expiatory sacrifice; for not only her skin and flesh and dung, but the remainder of the blood, was ordered to be burnt. As she was burning, the priest takes cedar wood and hyssop and scarlet wool, and, having shewed them to the spectators, he throws them into the fire, and they burn all together. The priest who killed the heifer, and sprinkled her blood, and the person that disposed her to be burnt, contracted a pollution, and were obliged to bathe their flesh, and wash their clothes, and remained unclean until the even; that is, they were not to come into the camp, much less into the sanctuary, when all was consumed. CHAP. VII.

When all was burnt, a man free from legal defilement took up the ashes, and (after they were pounded and sifted, say the Jews) laid them in a clean place without the camp. In after-times, as the Jewish writers assert, the red heifer being burnt upon the pitch of mount Olivet, which was over against the temple, they laid up some part of the ashes near that mount for the sprinkling of the people, and another part was delivered to the twenty-four courses of the priests for the sprinkling of the priests, and another third part laid up for a memorial in the enclosure of the court of the temple. But there is no certainty in this; and it expressly contradicts the positive command in the law of Moses. It is more probable that these ashes were kept in more places than one without the camp, (as afterwards near Jerusalem,) and perhaps in all the cities of the country; for it had been laborious for all the people, and impossible for those who were remote, to go to Jerusalem the third day, (as the law prescribed,) after

BOOK IV. they were defiled, to fetch these ashes; which therefore were preserved in several clean places, where every body might easily have them to put into water, and be sprinkled with it: for as this was no sacrifice, so no priest was required to make this purification. However, we are assured that the ashes were not to be made by burning a heifer every time the people had occasion for them; but the ashes of this one sacrifice (as we may call it) was sufficient for the use of many generations. The doctors say, that this red heifer was burnt but nine times while their polity lasted; the first by Eleazar in the wilderness, which was not repeated till after the destruction of Solomon's temple, that is, not during the space of more than a thousand years. The second time it was burnt by Ezra after their return from the captivity of Babylon; and but seven times more till the destruction of the second temple. Since which they have not attempted to make these ashes, but expect it to be done the tenth time by Messiah the King.

The person who gathered these ashes contracted a pollution, and therefore was to wash his clothes, and be reputed unclean until the even; which, say the Jews, is one of the strange things which Solomon himself did not understand, that the same thing should both cleanse and pollute, as these ashes did, which polluted him that gathered them, and made those that used them clean from the highest defilements. But this is not strange to those that consider, that all those great sacrifices which were offered for sin, though they purified those for whom they were offered, were very impure in themselves, because the sins of men were laid upon them.

More Nevoch, p. 3. c. 47.

To make these ashes fit for use, a quantity of them was put into a vessel with spring water, called *the water of separation;* because by it those persons were to be cleansed, who for their legal pollutions were separated from the congregation; and those things also which had been defiled were restored to their common use. It is certain, that ashes are of great efficacy in scouring things polluted; and the old Gentiles frequently used them in their libations. All proselytes, as well as Jews, were by an unalterable law to have the benefit of this purification. CHAP. VII.

This water of separation was chiefly, if not only, designed to purify from that great pollution arising from touching the body of the dead. The person thus defiled was reputed unclean for seven days; and so was he that touched the bone of a dead man, or a grave. Upon the third day he was to begin his purification, by being sprinkled with it, and upon the seventh he was sprinkled again; and then he was clean. This sprinkling was done by dipping a bunch of hyssop, which was a cleansing herb, into the water. If a man did not begin his purification upon the third day, his sprinkling upon the seventh would not make him clean. But it is probable that though he omitted it upon the third after his defilement, yet if he purified himself upon the fourth, or fifth, or any day following, that being reckoned as if it had been the third, when he had made up the number seven, his cleansing might be completed. The penalty for omitting this rite of purifying after such pollutions was cutting off. The house likewise, or tent, wherein a person died, and every one who came within the doors, while the dead body lay there, or before the place was puri-

BOOK IV. fied, as well as they who were in it when the person died, was under a legal uncleanness, and to be purified by sprinkling. Every vessel in the house that was open, and without a covering, was defiled, and was made clean by the sprinkling of this water; because the air in the house, which was supposed to be tainted by the dead body, came as freely into such vessels as it did into the body itself. Thomas Aquinas is of opinion that this law was made to prevent idolatry; for the old heathens thought, that if a mouse or a lizard, or such like creature, which was dedicated to their idols, fell into a vessel, or into water, they became thereby very acceptable to their gods. This superstition, he says, continued till his days; in which some women were used to leave their vessels uncovered on purpose, in observance of the nocturnal deities, whom they called Janas. To abolish which superstition he thinks that God required all vessels left uncovered, where the dead lay, should be polluted, that is, not acceptable to God, nor employed to holy, nor yet common uses.

Prima secundæ Quæst. 102.

The law of sprinkling does not say that this ceremony was to be performed by a priest; and therefore it is supposed that it might be done by any other person that was under no pollution, as any such person might slay the heifer, and burn her. But in this the Jews were so curious, that their tradition made this extend not only to a person that was at present clean, but that never had been defiled by a dead corpse in all his life. Therefore that such persons might be had, there were arches made in a rock in Jerusalem, and houses built over those arches. Thither, as to a place secure from graves, were certain women that were with child removed.

when they were near the time of their delivery, and there they were brought to bed. The children born in these houses were constantly kept there for this employment, that they might be ready, as they were capable, and as there was occasion, to sprinkle these ashes. When any one went upon this service, he rode upon a seat on the backs of oxen, first to the pool of Siloam, where he lighted in the water, (for there he might presume was no grave to defile him,) filled his pitcher, and got up again, rode to mount Olivet, besprinkled the party that was to be cleansed, and then rode in the same manner to his cell again. The very act of sprinkling made the person officiating unclean; and, to purify himself, he was obliged to wash his clothes, and to be esteemed polluted till the evening. Whoever touched this water of separation, or the person defiled, and whatever he touched, was defiled, and continued so till even, and he was bound to wash his clothes, as a rite of cleansing. By this nice care about the smallest bodily defilements, God designed to make them sensible how necessary it was to preserve inward purity, without which they could not be acceptable to him, though they approached his sanctuary. CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VIII.

The trial of leprosy. The rite of cleansing the leper.

THERE was another rite of purification by sprinkling, which may here justly be considered; and though it does not fall in any propriety, under the notion of a sin offering, yet, as it was attended with a cleansing quality, and was followed and com-

BOOK IV. pleted by a sin offering and other sacrifices, and as it bears a near resemblance to the water of separation before described, I choose in this place to give an account of it. The ceremony to be explained is that of cleansing the leper; and for the better illustration of it, it will be necessary to speak of the canons appointed by the law of Moses for the trial of leprosy.

Levit. xiii. 1, &c.

The leprosy, it is supposed, was a disease at first peculiar to the Egyptians, and from them spread into Syria. But the leprosy provided against by the law of Moses was not so much a common disease, or a legal pollution, as a divine infliction for the punishment of some grievous sin in the leprous person; for it is difficult to conceive how such a pestilent disease, as infected not only men's bodies, but the very walls of their houses, and their garments, should proceed merely from natural causes; and therefore it was always understood that the extraordinary hand of God was in some measure concerned in it.

Lev. xiv. 1. &c.

The judges appointed to inspect into this distemper were the priests, and to discern between a true leprosy and the resemblance of it. And their knowledge became so admirable in this matter, that they were even able to determine what was divine in the leprosy, and what proceeded from the constitution of their bodies, and a natural temper. And it was very proper that the priests should have the care of this inspection, because they had the charge of admitting them into the sanctuary: and likewise there were certain rites and ceremonies, and sacrifices appointed for their cleansing, if they were found leprous, which the priests were to see done; and therefore

the judgment also of the disease was proper to them. The Jewish doctors imagine that this inspection might be made on any day of the week but the sabbath or festivals, yet not in the night, nor in any hour of the day, but the fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth; for they accounted the morning, evening, and noon not such proper times to make this inspection; which, they say, also might be made by any Israelite, though none but the priest could pronounce a person clean or unclean: for though perhaps the priest was ignorant, and stood in need to be informed by persons wiser than himself, yet that man, who was not a priest, could only direct him what to judge, but not give the judgment. CHAP. VIII.

The leprosy generally appeared in one of these three forms; either as a bright spot in the skin, as a scab, or a tumour. A white spot rising in the skin of the flesh was esteemed a violent symptom of the leprosy; but there being white spots in the flesh that were not leprous, therefore, in order to give a right judgment, the priest was to inspect into the circumstances of the spot. If the hair in it was turned white, and it was not only a superficial whiteness, but the spot seemed to have eaten deeper into the very flesh, then it was to be judged a true leprosy, and the person was pronounced unclean, and commanded to be separated from the congregation, and shut up by himself. But if the bright spot were not a perfect white, but something duskish, it was supposed it might proceed from a lesser sort of foulness in the blood and skin short of the leprosy: and in this case the person was shut up by himself for seven days, (in which time there frequently happens a discernible alteration in diseases,) to see what

BOOK IV. change might be wrought if it were an ordinary disease, as well as to secure the suspected person from defiling others, in case it proved the leprosy. After the expiration of the seven days, the priest was to inspect again; and if the spot continued of the same colour, the case remaining dubious, he was to make a further trial, and shut up the suspected person for seven days more. After this separation, if, upon inquiry, the spot had not changed colour, or had made no progress in the skin, or looked darker than it did, then the person was pronounced clean, he was to be no longer separated, but left at liberty, and admitted into conversation. But having been suspected of leprosy, he was obliged to wash his clothes, which small kind of purification was required, because there was some kind of impurity in his blood, which broke out into his skin, though not infectious. A person who had no other sign of leprosy but a bright spot, if it appeared clear and bright, without a cloudiness in it, was esteemed a leper.

The second sort of leprosy was a scab, which if upon examination, after the person had been pronounced clean, it was found to spread in the skin, it was an evident sign of leprosy. For it must be observed, that after a person had been pronounced clean by the priest, after a trial of fourteen days, he was obliged, if he found the scab to spread, to shew himself again to the priest. And if any man was so profane as carelessly to neglect it, by not going to the priest, and shewing him his case, his punishment was to have his leprosy cleave to him for ever. Upon inspection, if the scab was found to spread in the skin, the person was absolutely to be pronounced unclean.

A third sort of leprosy was a tumour or swelling; in which case the suspected person was brought to the priest by those who feared his company might be infectious, (though good men went of themselves,) and if, upon examination, the rising in the skin was white, and the hair was white, and more especially if it had broken through the skin, and in the raw sound flesh there appeared white spots, there needed no further consideration, it was looked upon as an undoubted leprosy, and as an inveterate evil, that had been long breeding, and got not only into the skin and the hair, but into the very living flesh, which it began to corrode, and would soon destroy. But if the body otherwise was spread all over with scabs, this breaking out was not esteemed the plague of leprosy, being rather a relief to the body than a disease; but when the forementioned spots appeared in the sound flesh, it was an infallible sign of a settled leprosy, nature not being able to throw out the ill humour into the skin, but it worked inward into the flesh.

It sometimes happened that a tumour or ulcer, after it had been healed, broke out again, and upon this new irruption became a settled leprosy. The indication of leprosy in this case, over and above the signs mentioned before, was a shining inflammation, exceeding red. Upon this symptom the person was pronounced unclean; but if the boil did not spread and eat into the flesh, the person was reputed clean.

If a person had the misfortune to be burnt by a coal, or by any thing else, and a bright inflammation followed, and the hair was turned white, it was a sign that the leprosy was broken out in that place,

BOOK IV. which otherwise would have looked black; but if upon inspection the priest perceived neither of the above symptoms, the person was to be shut up seven days, to see what it would turn to, when that time was expired. If, upon a survey, it appeared that the wound had pierced into the flesh, and the hair became white, he was esteemed unclean; otherwise it was reckoned no more than a common inflammation arising from the burning.

The leprosy hitherto treated of related to the body of the leper; but there remained yet another kind, which particularly affected the head or beard. This was a disease that generally spread itself from the chin all over the face, except the eyes, and went down to the neck, the breast, and the hands, with a filthy scurf of the skin, which in scripture phrase is called *a scall.* The same signs attended this leprosy as the forementioned; only instead of a white hair, which there was in other kinds of leprosies, there was a yellow hair in this, and not so thick as the white. If it was doubtful whether the disease was a confirmed leprosy, the person was to be shut up seven days, to see what it would prove; and if, upon inspection, there was no yellow hair, nor was the scall sunk deep into the skin, it was supposed it was not the leprosy: but yet the person was not immediately to be discharged; for sureness' sake his head and beard were to be shaven, that the priest might the better discern whether the scall spread or no; only the place where the scall appeared was not shaven; because the priest was to observe of what colour the hair in it was. After this operation the person was shut up seven days more; and upon the seventh day he was to be surveyed again; and if the

scall did not spread into the skin, nor eat into the flesh, he was obliged only to wash his clothes, and then he was pronounced clean. But if the contrary symptoms appeared, he was declared a leper. If the hair fell off from the head, especially the forepart, and if there was a bright white sore in the bald part, he was pronounced unclean. CHAP. VIII.

When a person was convicted of being a leper, he was obliged to rend his clothes, to testify his sorrow, and that he might by that mark be distinguished from other people, who used to wear their garments close before. His head was likewise to be bare, and his lips were to be covered, either with his hand, or with the skirt of his garment thrown over his head, after the manner of mourners, and was bound to proclaim his own misery, and cry out aloud, Unclean! Unclean! thereby to give warning to others not to come near him, who by conversing with him would contract a legal pollution. And in this melancholy state the unhappy person was shut without the camp, (as in after-times the leprous were excluded the cities,) that no man might converse with him, but such as were leprous like himself. And this method was so strictly observed, that if a king was afflicted with this disease, he was excluded the city; for it is said, that Azariah, king of Judah, being stricken with a leprosy, dwelt in a separate house apart by himself unto the day of his death. 2 Kings xv. 5.

Though there was something natural in the leprosy that afflicted a human body; yet that this disease should not only stick to a garment and infect it, but appear and be seen in it, was always judged by the Hebrews to be a thing miraculous, and as an extraordinary punishment inflicted by

BOOK IV. God, and a severe token of his displeasure. The signs of this disease in a garment, whether in the inward or outward part of it, were the extreme greenness or redness of the spots in it, and the spreading of them after they were first discovered. If a spot of those colours were found in a garment or skin, of the broadness of a bean, it was a sufficient ground to think it might be the leprosy; if it were not so broad, it was accounted clean. If upon inspection by the priest the forenamed tokens appeared, the garment was to be shut up seven days. Upon the seventh it was to be surveyed by the priest: if the spots were spread, and the unfortunate colours continued, it was judged a fretting, corroding leprosy, that could never be got out of the part affected; and therefore it was to be burnt, as no more fit for use. If the contrary signs appeared, the garment was to be washed, and to be shut up seven days more; if upon the seventh day the priest observed that the bad signs continued, the garment was immediately burnt. If on the contrary the disease, after the washing of the garment, had not spread, and the part affected had changed colour from being green or red, and became duskish, the priest was to cut out that part of the garment where the spot was; and if no other part was tainted, that garment, after another washing, was reputed clean.

That the leprosy was in some measure a divine infliction, has been before mentioned; but it will appear much more so, when it is observed that this eating plague would appear in the very stones and walls of their houses, not like the contagion which now adheres to the houses of those who have the pestilence; for, as the rabbins observe, this sore dis-

ease was inflicted first upon the houses and garments, as a punishment for lesser sins; and if men continued in a course of wickedness, then it invaded their bodies: so that it began in the houses, which were not infected by the inhabitants, but the inhabitants by them. The signs, by which a leprosy was discovered in an house, were much the same as appeared in an human body. When an inhabitant began to suspect that the plague was in his dwelling, he was bound to give notice of it to the priest, or else he was liable to be severely punished. But before the priest made his inspection, all the household stuff was to be removed, and the inhabitants were to go out, that there might be nothing there to hinder his exact survey. The walls, with the pavement and the roof, were principally to be searched; and if the leprosy had so eaten into the stones as to have made a cavity in them, and these strakes appeared greenish or reddish, the priest was to see the house shut up, that none might contract a pollution by going into it; and if any person entered within the door of the house, while it remained under a suspicion of being defiled, he contracted a defilement himself, under which he lay till night. And thus it was to continue seven days. Upon the seventh day the priest was to make a further inspection; and if the plague was spread, he ordered the corrupted stones to be taken out and carried out of the city; and the rest of the walls where no spots appeared were to be scraped, that if any contagion stuck to them it might be taken away, and the spreading of it prevented. These scrapings were likewise carried out of the city into some unclean place, where the stones were before removed. The next thing was to put fresh untainted stones into

BOOK IV. the room of such as were taken out of the walls, and the walls were to be covered with fresh plaster. And if after all this care the marks of leprosy appeared again, the house was immediately pulled down, and all the materials of it carried out of the city. But if the plague had not spread, the priest pronounced the house clean; which, after it had been cleansed by the same rites that were used to cleanse a man, might be again inhabited.

The manner by which God appointed to purify a leper was this: when there were reasons to believe that the man was freed from his leprosy, he ordered his friends to provide for him two birds (they are called *sparrows* in the margin of our Bibles) that were clean, and were used to fly in the open air, in order for his purification. The first rite of cleansing was the killing of one of the birds over an earthen vessel that had spring water in it, according to the tradition of the scribes, one quarter full. The same tradition observes, that the best and fattest of the two birds was killed over the water, and the blood pressed out so long that the water was discoloured with it; and then he digged a hole, and buried the dead bird before the leper. Then he took a stick of cedar-wood, (as this rite is described by their doctors,) that was a cubit long, and tying the bird to it, with its tail uppermost, together with a bunch of hyssop of a handful long, and as much scarlet wool as weighed a shekel, he dipped the bird's tail and wings, with the hyssop and scarlet wool, in the water tinctured with the blood of the other bird, and sprinkled the leper seven times, and then pronounced him clean. The living bird was afterwards let loose into the open fields. The manner of doing

this in after-times was thus: the priest going into the city, threw the bird over the walls towards the wilderness, to intimate that the leper was restored to a free conversation with all his neighbours, as the bird was with the rest of his kind. He was then pronounced clean; and after he had washed his clothes, and shaved off all his hair, and washed his whole body, he was admitted into the camp. But lest there should remain undiscerned any part of the disease, he was not admitted into the tent where his family lived till after the expiration of seven days. At the seven days' end he was obliged to shave the hair clean that grew upon all parts of his body; and when he had again washed his clothes, and his whole body, (for which purpose in after-times there was a room provided in the corner of the court of the women, called *the room of the lepers,*) he was admitted into his tent.

But to complete his purification he was to offer peculiar sacrifices, which were of three kinds, a trespass offering, a sin offering, and a burnt offering; for which purpose were provided two he lambs and one ewe lamb, without blemish, and of the first year. To each of these sacrifices there was a meat offering appointed, consisting of a tenth part of an ephah of fine flour, that is, an homer, which is a thing unusual; for we read of no meat-offerings ordered to accompany either trespass offerings or sin offerings: but there were peculiar rites belonging to the cleansing of a leper different from the common usages, to make him sensible how great a mercy he had received from God, who alone could cure this disease, which his hand had inflicted. The meat offering was to be mingled with oil, as the custom

BOOK IV. was, and a log of oil (which was about half a pint of our measure) was to be provided besides. These necessaries being ready, the priest set the man in the first place, at the east gate of the court of the Israelites, (called in after-times *the gate of Nicanor*,) with his face towards the sanctuary; for here all those who needed expiation stood, it being unlawful for them to enter into the court of the Israelites until the expiation was made. He was then to bring one of the he lambs to the same place, and present him to the Lord for a trespass offering, that he might beg pardon of God for such sins as he had ignorantly committed. The log of oil was presented at the same time, and both of them were waved; which was done by waving them to and fro, up and down, and turning towards all the four quarters of the world; though it is said by some Jewish writers that this was waved only towards the east. After the lamb was presented, he was brought to the door of the court where the leprous man stood, who stretched out his hands into the court, and laid them upon his sacrifice. Then was the victim killed in the court of the tabernacle, at the north side of the altar of burnt offering, which was a place more holy than the entrance or east end of the court, where the peace offerings were to be killed; and two priests stood ready to receive the blood of the lamb; one in an holy vessel, with which he sprinkled the altar; the other received the blood in his right hand, which he poured into his left. The priest standing within the court, at the entrance of it, and the man standing still without, because he yet wanted his atonement, the man thrust his head within the gate, and the priest with the fore-finger

of his right hand put some of the blood upon the tip of his right ear. After which the man stretched out his right arm, and the priest put some of the same blood upon the thumb of his right hand; and next his right leg, on the great toe of which he likewise put some more blood. A great doctor among the Jews observes, that if the priest had put the blood upon the left ear, thumb, or toe, all had been of no effect; and adds, that the blood was put upon half of the flap of the ear, and upon the whole breadth of the top of his thumb and great toe; for if he put it on the sides, or beneath, it was ineffectual; which is very reasonable to believe; because there was no natural efficacy in these things to cleanse a leper; but it depended wholly on the will and pleasure of God, which was punctually therefore to be observed.

The priest was then to take the log of oil and pour a small quantity of it into the palm of his own left hand, and dipping the forefinger of his right hand in it he sprinkled it seven times; at every sprinkling he dipped his finger in the oil, and directed it towards the most holy place, where God dwelt. After this sprinkling, the priest returned to the man who was to be cleansed, upon the tip of whose ear and thumb and toe he had put the blood of the trespass offering, and put some of this oil upon that blood; which seems to have been a token of forgiveness by the blood, and of healing by the oil. The oil that remained in the priest's hand was poured upon the head of the person that was to be cleansed; which one thing, if it were omitted, the leper was not cleansed. As for the rest of the log of oil, which was not all poured into his hand, but only

BOOK IV. some of it, that was given to the priest, who alone might eat it in the court of the tabernacle; but none might taste of it, before the sprinkling, and other things before mentioned were performed. If any man did, he was beaten, as he was who eat the holy things before the sprinkling of the blood. Thus was the leprosy, which was inflicted as a punishment for some sin, in some measure taken away by this sacrifice.

The she lamb was next to be slain for a sin offering; for as the atonement of the leper was begun by the trespass offering, so was it advanced by this.

The other he lamb was next to be sacrificed for a burnt offering. Upon this sacrifice likewise attended a meat offering; and by this his atonement was completed, and he became so perfectly clean, as to be admitted to be partaker of the altar when the peace offerings were sacrificed.

But it was the peculiar goodness of God to make a merciful provision that the poor should not be charged with too costly sacrifices, and yet partake of the benefit of them as much as the rich. This appears in the case before us; for if the person to be cleansed was of a mean condition, his poverty excused him from such chargeable sacrifices. After he had gone through all the purgations above mentioned, which continued for seven days, upon the eighth day he was permitted to sacrifice a lamb for a trespass offering. It was to be waved according to the directions above, and his atonement was effected by this as well as by a more valuable sacrifice. Instead of three tenth deals of flour, he was obliged to bring but one; but he was bound to the same quantity of oil which the better sort were to

offer; because oil was easy to be had in that country. Instead of the other two lambs that the rich were to offer, God was contented with two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, the one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering: and the same rites being prescribed about a poor man which were used for the cleansing of the rich, I have no occasion here to repeat them. CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. IX.

Uncleanness of men and women in their issues. The pollution of women after childbirth. The rite of purification by burnt and sin offerings.

THE following pollutions being expiated by burnt and sin offerings, this may be as proper as any place in the course of this work to give some account of them. And here it must be observed, that notwithstanding the holy writers (men generally of advanced age) speak plainly of some things that we think it not so modest to name in that manner; yet it is to be noted, on the other hand, that in things of the same nature they use circumlocutions to express them, which we make no difficulty to mention in plainer words: as when they say *the water of the feet*, meaning *urine;* and call going to stool, *uncovering of their feet;* which shews that it is nothing but the vast difference of times and places which makes that language seem uncivil to us that was not so to them; and on the contrary, made them very cautious in their expressions, where we think it unnecessary.

The disease which the scripture calls *a running issue* is the same which physicians call *a gonorrhœa.* Lev. xv. 1, 2, &c.

BOOK IV. which commonly proceeded from an ill course of life, and had in those hot countries a great virulency in it. If it proceeded merely from some strain in the back, by carrying too great a burden, or by violent leaping, or several other natural causes, the man was not defiled with it, nor concerned in this law: and therefore the causes from whence it proceeded were diligently to be considered, which might be discerned by such effects as made it a very nasty and offensive disease in those hot countries, as it is sometimes here in these colder climates.

If there was a continual distillation of corrupt matter, or it was so coagulated as to stop in the passage, either way the man was unclean. To judge of his uncleanness, it was not left to the conscience of the person to determine; but his complexion frequently discovered it, the continual flux making a great alteration in the whole habit of his body; and it is observed that virulent gonorrhœas are generally attended with inflammations and ulcers in the neighbouring parts, from which the filthy humour distilled. This disease was esteemed so highly offensive and impure, that not only every thing he touched became unclean, but whoso touched such things was made unclean also, and was bound to wash his clothes and himself, and to continue in his pollution till night. If he had touched an earthen vessel in his uncleanness it was to be broken, lest it should afterwards be used; but if he touched a vessel of wood, or of any other durable matter, it was only to be well washed; because it was not so easily made as the other, and was of more value.

When a person apprehended himself amended, he was to separate himself seven days, that there might

be a sufficient proof that the issue was stopt, and was really cured. In the conclusion of the seventh day he was to wash his clothes and himself in spring water, and then was admitted into the company of his neighbours, but not have communion with God at the sanctuary till he had offered the appointed sacrifices. If in the end of the seventh day after his washing the flux returned again, all this labour was lost, and he was to stay seven days more. If he continued free from his flux after his washing on the seventh day in the evening, the sacrifices appointed for his purification were two turtle-doves or two young pigeons; the one was to be offered for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering. When the sacrifices were offered, he was admitted into the court of the Israelites, and perfectly restored to partake of holy things, of which he was debarred while he had his issue. CHAP. IX

There was another kind of legal pollution occasioned by the involuntary issuing of a man's seed in nightly dreams, or by any other accident. This was one of the smallest kinds of legal pollution, from which the person was cleansed without sacrifice; yet he was obliged to wash himself, and whatever he had touched, and continue in his uncleanness till night.

The act of marriage itself had, by the Divine law, some kind of pollution in it; for the man and the woman, after the act, were obliged to wash themselves, in order that the trouble of such constant purification after it might preserve them from the immoderate use of it.

A woman under her monthly flux was separated from her husband and from the sanctuary seven,

BOOK IV. days; but she might eat all manner of common meat, and perform all domestic offices for her husband as formerly, only not lie with him in that condition. Whoever touched her in the time of her menstruous pollutions, and whatever she touched, was to be washed, and continue in uncleanness till night. Infants it is supposed in this case were excepted, who on the account of their age, and the necessities of nature, must be handled by their mothers, but contracted no pollution. If in this condition a man lay with her, knowing in what condition she was, they were both liable to be cut off. But if he did it ignorantly, the bed on which he lay, and himself, were unclean for seven days, as having contracted one of the greatest sorts of uncleanness; for though this flux was natural and beneficial, and therefore could have no sort of uncleanness in it but what was made by this law; yet there was great reason to keep men from the company of women in this condition, if leprosies and such like diseases were thereby propagated, as some think; especially since they were so libidinous a people, that it was highly necessary to lay such restraints upon them. But if the man might be ignorant of the condition the woman was in, the woman herself could scarcely be so; and therefore when the fact was only private, it is supposed they only incurred a legal impurity for a certain season. But when it was publicly known, and proof made of it before a judge, it was a capital crime; because it was done in contempt and despite of the law, otherwise it could not have been so publicly known as to have been legally proved.

If these fluxes in women continued after the time of their natural course, it became a disease, and the

person afflicted was in a state of uncleanness as long as the flux remained; which made the case of those who laboured under this infirmity very lamentable; because in some it continued many years. Whatever she touched, and whosoever touched what she touched, was unclean likewise. When her issue ceased she was to be separated seven days, to try if she was perfectly cured. If there were no return of the flux she was restored to common conversation, but not to the sanctuary till she had offered the appointed sacrifices, which were the same prescribed to a man who was cured of his issue. These oblations must be understood to relate only to the extraordinary flux, out of, or beyond the usual course of nature; for it would have been too burdensome to women, especially of low circumstances, to be obliged to offer these sacrifices once a month, when they were under their menstrual pollutions. CHAP. IX.

The rite of purifying after childbirth was in this manner: when a child was born, whether alive or dead, or was an abortive or came to its full time, for the first seven days after the birth the woman was esteemed unclean with as contagious a pollution as in the seven days of her separation for the infirmity of her monthly fluors, during which time she was not only debarred from going into the sanctuary, and partaking of any holy thing, but also her husband was not permitted to eat and drink with her all that time; for they that attended upon her, and whatever she touched was unclean, and that which was so defiled did also render the person that touched it unclean. For this reason she was confined to her chamber, though not shut out of the camp, as lepers and others were. From the seven Lev. xii. 1, 2, &c.

BOOK IV. days' end she was ordained to remain, for the further cleansing of her body, three and thirty days, in which time she was only excluded from the sanctuary, and from eating the peace offerings or the paschal lamb, and (if she was the wife of a priest) of the tithes, and other lesser holy things; but otherwise she was left at liberty to perform all manner of offices in her family during the time of her purification.

The time of strict separation, when she brought forth a female, was double to that which was prescribed when she brought forth a male; and so also was the time of her purification. The time of separation after the birth of a male child was seven days, after a female fourteen: so likewise after the first the purification continued but thirty-three days; but after the other it lasted sixty-six. The reason of this difference is accounted for not only by the Jews, but others, who impute it to the greater redundancy of blood in the latter case than in the former, and from the slowness of nature in its operation, which made the purgation longer before it was perfected. The day after the purification was accomplished, the woman who had been under a legal impurity was obliged to offer a burnt offering of a lamb of the first year, in gratitude to God for giving her a safe deliverance, and raising her up to her former strength, and bringing her again to his sanctuary. She was likewise to offer a sin offering of a young pigeon or a turtle-dove; not that child-bearing in itself was a sin, or that this sin offering was required for the sin of the mother, but because, say the Jews, the pain of child-bearing was a punishment of sin, and the mother of all living was the

first who brought sin and sorrow into the world; and therefore God appointed this offering for the expiation of that primary offence. CHAP. IX.

There was a lower sort of offering permitted, if the circumstances of the woman could not provide the former. She was allowed to offer two turtles or two young pigeons, the one for a burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering; which sacrifice was as available as the other to restore her to public communion with the people.

CHAP. X.

Trespass offerings.

THE trespass offering bears so near a resemblance to the sin offering, that the one is sometimes used for the other; yet there is a real difference between them, though it be not so easy to determine wherein it consists; for as sin offerings came for offences against negative precepts, so did the trespass offerings; and as those were offered for such offences ignorantly committed, so likewise were these; and as those had a reference to the danger of cutting off, so had these also; but in this lay the principal difference: a sin offering was for a thing indeed done ignorantly against one of the negative precepts, and now known to be certainly done; but a trespass offering was for a thing done indeed, but doubtful whether a precept was violated by the action, and the party is not yet certain whether he trespassed or not, yet was he to bring a trespass offering, to secure him against the penalty of cutting off, which he was otherwise exposed to; and

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BOOK IV. if once he came to know that he did offend against a commandment in the action, then he was to atone by a sin offering. Besides, the different ceremonies that attended these two offerings are sufficient to distinguish the one from the other; for none but rams and male lambs were admitted for trespass offerings, which were not used in any sin offerings: and the blood of the sin offerings was put upon the horns of the altar; but that of the trespass offerings was sprinkled round about upon the altar below the line. Sin offerings also were offered for the whole congregation, but trespass offerings only for private persons: from whence some have concluded, that the difference between sin and trespass consisted only in the sacrifices that were offered for them.

There were two sorts of trespass offerings; the one was offered when there was some doubt or suspense about the guilt of an action, and the other was positively appointed by an express law. The occasions for which a trespass offering was actually enjoined are these: if a person denied the trust that was committed to him, and that when he was brought upon his oath to deliver the truth; if he engaged to carry on a common trade with another in joint stock, and gave his hand to the contract, and afterwards denied it; or denied what he had stolen, or wronged his neighbour of by false evidence; or denied with an oath that he found a thing lost which really came to his hand; in these cases, wherein one man deals with another, the offender was obliged, as soon as he confessed himself guilty, to bring a trespass offering, and to make restitution, with an addition of a fifth part; for here the offender comes voluntarily and confesses his crime,

Lev. v. 1, 2. vi. 2, 3, 6.

or at least confesses when he is adjured to speak the truth; which is the reason that he was condemned to a less punishment than he would have suffered had he been convicted by witnesses in a course of law, and was allowed to expiate his guilt by a sacrifice. The same numerical thing that was taken away was to be restored, if it remained unaltered in the possession of the thief; otherwise he was to pay the just price of it, with the addition of a fifth part, as a compensation to the owner for the damage he might have sustained. If the person had really forgotten that he had found a thing, with which he was charged, at the time he denied it upon oath, he was not bound to pay the fifth part more, nor to offer the expiatory sacrifice, though he was really possessed of the thing. But if it appeared that he had wilfully falsified in his oath, the victim appointed in this case was a ram without blemish; for the offender was not to think he was cleared by making restitution, and adding a fifth part as satisfaction to his neighbour; but this trespass offering was necessary for his expiation, and to atone with God for his offence. CHAP. X.

If a person ignorantly applied to his own use any thing that was dedicated to God, especially if he meddled with that part of the sacrifice which belonged to the priests, he was to expiate his trespass by offering a ram, which was of more value than a female sheep; and therefore this sacrifice was more costly than the sin offering. Besides his sacrifice, the offender was to make satisfaction in money, according as the priest should compute the damage: the sum he was to pay was at least two shekels of silver after the shekel of the sanctuary. And besides Lev. v. 16.

BOOK IV. this compensation, there was a fifth part more to be added and given to the priest who had suffered the damage. If the offender eat any thing that was holy, which alone belonged to the priests, and was not certain at the same time whether it was holy or not, yet he was still obliged to offer this expiatory sacrifice, which became due upon a suspicion of guilt; but no fifth part was to be added in this case; because it was not certain whether he had transgressed or not.

Numb. vi. 12; Lev. xiv. 12. The Nazarite who had broken his vow of separation was obliged to bring a lamb for a trespass offering; and a ram was the victim appointed at the purification of the leper.

Lev. xix. 20, 21. A man, that lay *carnally with a woman that was a bondmaid and betrothed,* was to atone for his offence by bringing a ram for his trespass offering. It must be observed here, that the Jews had some servants that were Gentiles, who, if they embraced the Jewish religion, were baptized sometimes with the reservation of their servitude, and sometimes with a full grant of liberty. But others there were in a middle condition, partly free, and partly servile; that is, when part of their redemption money had been paid, and part was still behind. Now as no man of Israel might marry a woman that was a perfect slave, so when she was partly free, though he might espouse her, and the espousals were valid, yet they could not be of full force till her liberty was perfected. If such a maiden, who was not entirely, but in part redeemed, should violate her chastity and play the whore, she and the man were to be punished by scourging. If she had been perfectly free, both he that lay with her, and she herself,

would have been put to death; but being not fully free, and consequently not fully his wife that had espoused her, it was not reckoned adultery, and therefore punished only with a corporal penalty. This sin had so much guilt in it, that beside the punishment the man was obliged to offer a ram for a trespass offering. No sacrifice was enjoined the woman; because she had nothing to offer for her expiation, all that she had being her master's; and therefore she was left in a deplorable state, without any public assurance of the Divine pardon. CHAP. X.

The manner of disposing of these sacrifices when they came to be offered, was after the rites of the sin offering: they were killed, flayed, the intestines taken out, washed, salted, and burnt like that, and the flesh eaten by the males of the priests in the court; only (as was before observed) there was a difference about managing the blood; the blood of the sin offering being sprinkled above the red line, but of the trespass offering below. The ram of the Nazarite was accounted one of the less holy sacrifices; whereas all other trespass offerings went in the number of the most holy. And whereas those were slain upon the north side of the court, this was upon the south; and those were eaten only by the males of the priests, and in the court; but this might be eaten by others, and in a clean place in any part of Jerusalem.

The place where the trespass offerings were eaten by the priests was within the court; in warm weather it is supposed that they eat under the cloisters in the open air, and in colder seasons in some of the chambers that stood within the court, and perhaps in some of the rooms joining to the temple.

BOOK IV. They did not begin to eat of those sacrifices till towards the evening, and made them not their dinner at any time, but their supper. Hence is the common saying of the Talmudists: "they might eat of "them till midnight;" but after that it was unlawful. Whether the priests fasted all the day till this time is not so easy to determine.

CHAP. XI.

Peace offerings.

PEACE in the Hebrew language signifies *prosperity* and *happiness*; and therefore these oblations were called *peace offerings*, because they were principally thankful acknowledgments for mercies received from the Divine bounty. The more particu-
Lev. i. lar division of these sacrifices is into thank offerings, freewill offerings, and offerings for vows: the first sort were offered for prosperity or good already obtained; the second in the way of devotion, to continue or to procure peace with God; the third, that prosperity or good might be obtained for the future; and as peace offerings that came from vows, and such as were freely offered, arose from different occasions, the one from pure devotion, the other upon some conditional reference, so the Jews observe, that if the offerings for vows chanced to die, or were stolen, they were to be made good by presenting others; but if those that were set apart by a free gift came to any such misfortune, the party was not obliged to any such reparation.

But there were some peace offerings of an extraordinary quality, which differed from the common

rule; and these were the peace offerings of the hea- CHAP. XI.
then, which even they offered at the temple. It has been before observed, that *the mountain of the house* is commonly called by Christian writers *the court of the Gentiles;* for into that might the heathens come and bring their offerings with them. But though the Gentiles might offer peace offerings under the notion of a freewill offering, or a vow, yet they were not to be sacrificed as peace offerings, but as burnt offerings; because they were brought in devotion to God, and not to be eaten by Israelites. But if a heathen, out of love to the people of Israel, or the priest then serving, brought an offering to atone between God and Israel, or between God and those priests, the property was now altered, and it became the peace offering of Israel, or of the priests, and so might be offered up and eaten according to the law.

The peace offerings of the Israelites were either Lev. xxiii. 19.
of the whole congregation, or of particular persons: those of the first sort were only two lambs, offered at one time of the year, and that was at the feast of Pentecost; and these were killed, flayed, their blood sprinkled, their inwards burnt, and the flesh eaten in the court by the males of the priests, as the sin offerings were. These of peace offerings only were accounted most holy sacrifices; all the other were of the less holy.

The peace offerings of particular persons were of three kinds: first, such as were offered without bread. These were the peace offerings for their festivity and rejoicing at the three solemn festivals. Now though these were offered without bread, and therefore might seem proper for heathens to have

BOOK IV. offered, as being clear from that exception of not offering the bread of a stranger, yet the Gentiles were not allowed to bring these oblations; because they were not included in the law which commanded festivity and rejoicing at the three festivals.

Lev. iii. The second sort of peace offerings were such as were offered with bread, that is, with unleavened cakes, or unleavened wafers mingled with oil. These were peace offerings of thanksgiving, and the bread was called *the bread of thanksgiving*. This bread was offered not upon the altar, which was absolutely forbidden; but the offerer was to give it to the priest in waiting, who was to partake of the sacrifice. One of the cakes only was presented to God as a heave offering, the rest belonged to the priest who sprinkled the blood upon the altar.

There was a third peace offering of a particular person, which was the ram of the Nazarite; but the manner of offering this sacrifice has been already explained.

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Peace offerings might be either of the flock or of the herd, and either greater or smaller of those kinds; that is, of the herd, from the first year to the third; and of the flock, from the first to the second year complete: if they were older, they were unfit for sacrifice. The offerings of the herd were always allowed to be the most noble victims; but if the abilities of the person were unable to procure such a sacrifice, he was allowed to make an oblation either of the sheep or of the goats, and that either male or female, but perfect in its kind. He was not permitted to offer a peace offering of birds; because these sacrifices being to be divided between God, the priest, and the offerer, the portion of each

would have been so small, that the feast upon it would have been very meagre and jejune, and have occasioned contempt. But though a bird was not accepted, yet a lamb was; and this offering was disposed of as a bullock, only with this difference, that the whole rump of a sheep was to be offered to God, though not of a bullock or a goat; and the reason was, that in those countries the tails of their sheep are so vastly big and fat, that the least of them, it is said, weighs ten or twelve pound, and some exceed forty pound weight. If the peace offering was a goat, he was managed as the former, what is ordered concerning the rump of a sheep only excepted. CHAP. XI.

The place of sacrificing peace offerings was commonly upon the south side of the court, and the blood was sprinkled round about the altar, as was the blood of the burnt offering, that is, with two sprinklings in the form of the Greek gamma; by which act the four sides of the altar were sprinkled. The priest in waiting, after the sacrifice was flayed and cut up, was to separate the caul and the fat that adhered to the mesentery and other intestines, the two kidneys and the fat that belonged to them, and the midriff that is over the liver and the kidneys: all the fat here mentioned was the portion of the sacrifice that belonged to God. The sacrifice being slain and divided, the breast was to be waved and solemnly presented to God; and for this purpose the offerer was to go into the court of the priests, and to join his hand in the ceremony; and the manner of waving was this: the priest laid the fat in the owner's hand, and upon the fat he placed the breast and the right shoulder, and upon them

BOOK IV. he laid the kidneys and the caul of the liver; and if it were a thanksgiving offering, he laid some of the bread upon the top of all; then he put his hands under the hands of the owner, and he waved his hands this way and that way, and up and down, and all towards the east. After this waving he salted the inwards, and burnt them upon the altar: the wave breast and the right shoulder of the peace offering belonged to the officiating priests; and so did a part of the bread or cakes that were offered with it. The rest was eaten by the owner; but if by accident any of the flesh touched any thing unclean, as it was carried from the altar to the place where they were to feast, it was not to be eaten; but that which was not defiled might.

It has been observed that all the fat belonged to God, or rather all the suet; for the fat, which was a part of the flesh, might be eaten, but not that which lay upon it only, and could easily be separated from it, which was burnt upon the altar when they sacrificed either bullock, sheep, or goat. If any person presumptuously eat the fat of an offering made by fire, he was to be punished by cutting off: if he did it by inadvertency, he was to be scourged, as the Jewish doctors affirm; yet if he did it a third time, scourging did not suffice, but they shut him up in a little cave, where he could not stand upright, nor had room to sit down, and there fed him with the bread and water of affliction, in the utmost misery. When they killed any of the clean creatures at home for their food, they were to forbear eating the suet; partly out of reverence to God, whose portion it was; and partly because it was heavy, and of difficult digestion. It seems there-

fore to have been offered upon the altar, because it was so unctuous that it would easily burn, and make the flesh also consume the sooner. The fat of what was torn by wild beasts, when it was separated from the body, might be applied to any use, only they were to avoid the eating of it. CHAP. XI.

When a beast was sacrificed, the blood was to be poured upon the earth as water; and so it was when it was killed for common use. The eating of blood was strictly forbidden to the Hebrews, under the terrible penalty of cutting off: though it was not the blood of a sacrifice offered at the altar, but of beasts or fowls taken in hunting, and killed for their own use, yet they might not eat of it; they were to bury it in the ground, lest, as the Jews say, any beast should lick it up. But the rabbins distinguish between the blood of the soul, or the life, (as they speak,) and the blood of a member: the former, which ran out freely when the beast was killed, and in which was the life of the beast, is absolutely forbidden; the other, which remained in the several parts of the beast, they looked upon as belonging to the flesh, and therefore might be eaten with it. This precept in the law of Moses directly opposed the superstitious practice of the heathen in their idolatrous worship, who were used to eat the blood of their sacrifices, which they imagined to be the food of their gods. By this means they were joined in federal society with them, and by this kind of communion they were sometimes enabled to prophesy, and to foretell things to come. The demons, they supposed, fed upon the blood that was poured into a bowl, or hole in the ground, whilst the worshippers partook of it, and sat about

BOOK IV. eating the flesh. If a man therefore saw his neighbour kill a beast, and neglect to cover its blood with dust, he was obliged to do it instantly himself; for this precept extended to all the people. While the blood was covering, the person used this form of benediction: "Blessed be the Lord our God, the "King of all the world, who hast sanctified us with "thy precepts, and commanded us to cover blood;" which shews that they understood this injunction to be of great importance. The reason given by the law of Moses why blood should not be eaten, was, because the blood of the sacrifices was accepted as an expiation for sin; for the sins of the sacrificer being laid upon the beast which he offered, by imposition of hands, and a solemn confession, they were taken away, and expiated by the blood of that beast unto which they were transferred. Nothing is said concerning fishes, because they were not offered at the altar, and had little blood in them; nor is there any direction given any where how they should be killed.

The person that offered a peace offering might eat his share of it in any clean place in Jerusalem. And this is one of the privileges of Jerusalem above other cities, that the less holy things might be eaten in it, and in no other. The peace offerings were usually boiled in the temple itself, in one of the corners of the court of the women, where were boiling places, as we have observed, for this purpose.
1 Sam. ii. This was the practice likewise while the tabernacle was at Shiloh; for here the sons of Eli shewed their impiety, when, instead of being contented with the wave breast and heave shoulder, they brought up a custom to strike a three-forked hook into the

caldron where the peace offerings were boiling, and to take all that it brought up to their own use. CHAP. XI.

The peace offering of thanksgiving was eaten the same day; but a vow or freewill offering might be eaten upon the morrow. And herein the priest and the offerer came under the same restriction for the one, and liberty for the other; and the whole families of the one and the other, wives, sons, daughters, servants, might eat of them. The offerer, if he thought fit, might eat his part in the temple; and the priests, if they pleased, might eat theirs in Jerusalem. Lev. vii. 15, 16.

CHAP. XII.

Libations, meat offerings, and drink offerings.

WHEN the burden was too great to worship God by a sacrifice of birds, the poor Hebrew was allowed to express his piety by a present (as we may call it) of pure wheaten flour sifted from the bran. This offering was voluntary, when any man's devotion inclined him to acknowledge the providence of God, and to implore his divine blessing. The quantity in this case is not prescribed; only the Jews say that less than the tenth part of an ephah of corn, and of a log of oil, was not accepted. The offerer might offer as many tenth parts as he pleased, so that there were not above sixty in one vessel; and to every tenth part he was obliged to join a log of oil; but under one tenth part, and under one log of oil, there could be no meat offering. Lev. ii. 1, &c.

Of these offerings there were five sorts: the meat offering of fine flour unbaked, or baked in a pan, or

BOOK IV. baked in a frying-pan, or baked in the oven, which
Gen. iv. 3. was either of thick cakes, or of thin, like wafers. Of these the first is the most ancient, and thought to be part of that oblation offered by Cain; and is likewise of the greatest antiquity among the Gentiles, both Greeks and Romans. The way of compounding this meat offering was thus: a quantity of oil was put into a vessel, and some flour after it; then oil was poured upon the flour, and they were mingled together; then was it put into the holy vessel of the service, in which it was to be carried to the altar, and oil was poured on again, and frankincense upon the top of all. It was brought to the top of the altar, there waved, and salted, and part of it laid upon the fire. The rest was eaten by the priests. The design of the oil seems to be, that it might have a grateful relish; and the frankincense was for the honour and dignity of the sacrifices, and to make a sweet odour in the court of the tabernacle or temple, which otherwise would have been offensive, by reason of the flesh that was daily consumed. When the Hebrews came into Canaan, where it was enjoined that this meat offering should attend all the voluntary burnt offerings of beasts, as well as the daily morning and evening sacrifice, there is no frankincense appointed, but a certain quantity of wine, which, perhaps, having a fragrant smell, was ordered in the place of it. All the priests that attended when this raw libation was offered, were to have an equal share in it; but the baked meat offerings belonged to the priest alone who ministered at the altar. This offering seems to have something of the nature of an holocaust, or whole burnt offering, it being expressly called *an offering*

made by fire: though some suppose it to have been an expiatory sacrifice, because what remained was to be eaten by the priests.

Another sort of meat offering was baked in a flat pan, without any rim about it. This vessel was only flat and broad, but had no rising on the sides of it; so that the oil being poured upon it, when it was set on the fire, ran down, and increased the flame, and made the cake hard. This offering consisted of fine flour unleavened, kneaded with oil, and was divided as it lay baking upon the plate, because part of it was to be given to God, and the rest to the priests; then a quantity of fresh oil was poured upon the pieces, in order to make them the more savoury.

There was a meat offering baked in a frying-pan, a vessel not flat but deep; because that which was baked in it was moist and fluid. The oil was not kneaded with this sort of offering, but put into the pan, so that it mixed with the flour, which might be shaken and moved up and down, as things are which are baked in liquors. A part of this cake was separated from the rest by the priest, who burnt it upon the altar before the other part was eaten.

Other meat offerings were baked in an oven; for which purpose there was one built in the court of the tabernacle, and afterwards in the court of the temple. These offerings were of two sorts; either thick unleavened cakes, or thin, like wafers. In thick cakes the flour and the oil were kneaded together; but if they were thin, the oil was spread upon them, in the form of the Greek Kappa, before they were baked, or, as some suppose, after they came out of the oven.

BOOK IV. It was forbidden by the law of Moses that any meat offering that was laid upon the altar should be leavened. This prohibition, it is supposed, was occasioned by the idolatrous customs of the Zabii, who offered to their deities none but leavened bread; or, as others conceive, because it would have made too much delay, if the offerer had been obliged to wait at the tabernacle till the fermentation was accomplished. Honey likewise was forbidden to be burnt in any offering made by fire; for honey was a kind of leaven, and frequently applied by the heathen in their religious rites; which seems to be the reason why God forbade the use of it in his sacrifices. Every meat offering was to be seasoned with salt, and so were all other sacrifices, as has been observed in its proper place. The priests, and all the males of their family that were free from legal defilement, were allowed to eat of these offerings.

The matter of meat offerings was different, and the ingredients, in the general, were fine flour, or barley meal, or green ears of corn, oil, frankincense, and salt. Some of these libations were offered separately by themselves, and some attended upon other sacrifices, that is, either upon burnt offerings or peace offerings. Such as were joined to burnt offerings consisted of the following proportion: if the burnt offering were a lamb, then an homer or tenth deal of flour was to be mingled with the fourth part of a hin of oil. If it were a ram, then two homers of flour, and the third part of a hin of oil. If a bullock, then three homers, and half a hin. If a kid, the same quantity as for a lamb. This was the method in the offerings at the solemn festivals. When meat offerings were joined with peace offer-

Lev. xxiii. 18.
Numb. xv. 4, &c.

CHAP. XII.

ings, the case was generally the same, unless in a peace offering of thanksgiving, for then the person made an addition; for he was to prepare unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and fried, with unleavened bread besides. One of these cakes of libation was to be a heave offering for the priest. Sin offerings had no meat offering belonging to them.

Numb. xv. 8. Lev. vii. 12, 13, 14.

The meat offerings that were independent, and presented alone, were two: one upon the occasion of poverty, if the party was unable to procure any other victim; the other in the trial of the suspected wife. And this being a viler sort of sacrifice, and upon a melancholy occasion, consisted of the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal, without any oil or frankincense. A handful of it was burnt upon the altar, the rest was the portion of the priests.

Of meat offerings some were public for the whole congregation, and others for private persons. Those of a public nature were three: the twelve loaves of shewbread, which were set before the Lord every sabbath, and, when taken away, were eaten by the priests; the two wave loaves, offered at Pentecost; and the sheaf, or homer, of the first fruits of their harvest. This last (as already observed) was of barley, the corn that was first ripe. The green ears were dried by the fire, then bruised or beaten in a mortar, or in a mill; and the flour, say some of the Jews, remained unsifted; and therefore this differed from the raw meat offering first mentioned, which was made of fine wheaten flour sifted from the bran. Oil and frankincense were used with this offering, and all that was not consumed belonged to the priests; but the frankincense was wholly offered

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BOOK IV. to God. The sheaf was waved before it was offered: and the reason of this ceremony is thus given by a rabbi: every waving is bringing it this way and that way, up and down; and the waving it this way and that way was for the restraining of unseasonable winds, and the waving it up and down was for preventing pernicious dews.

Rabbi Solomon in Levit. xxiii.

Exod. xxix. 23. Lev. viii. 26. The meat offerings for particular persons are these:—The daily meat offering of the high priest. Every high priest upon the day of his consecration, and every day ever after, as long as he continued in the priesthood, was obliged to offer a meat offering baked in a pan, mixed with oil, but without leaven. He was to bring it to the altar, and divide it into twelve pieces, which were so exactly separated, that half of them were offered in the morning, and half in the evening. And this institution was to be observed as long as the priesthood continued.

Lev. viii. 22. The meat offering of initiation, which every priest was to bring when he entered upon his office. This oblation was the same with that before. And in both these cases the priests were not allowed to taste their own meat offerings, but they were wholly consumed upon the altar.

The sinner's meat offering, which was accepted from a poor man instead of a sin offering.

Numb. v. 15. The meat offering of the suspected wife, that consisted of barley meal.

For the making and managing of the meat offerings these were the general rules. Some meat offerings required oil and frankincense; some required oil, but not frankincense; some frankincense, but not oil; and some neither frankincense nor oil. Those that required frankincense and oil were these: the

meat offering of fine flour unbaked, those four that were baked, the meat offering of the high priest, that of the priest's initiation, and the homer of first-fruits. The meat offering joined with a drink offering required oil, but not frankincense. The shew-bread required frankincense, but not oil; and the sinner's meat offering, and the meat offering of the supected wife, had neither oil nor frankincense. Of some meat offerings the priest took out a handful, and burnt it upon the altar, and the rest he had for himself to eat; and some were wholly burnt, and the priest had no part. These were they out of which the priest took a handful, and had the rest himself: the unbaked meat offering of fine flour, and the four that were baked, the homer of first-fruits, the meat offering of the sinner, and the suspected wife; but the meat offering of the high priest, and of the priest's initiation, and that offered with a drink offering, the priest had no share in these, they were wholly consumed upon the altar. CHAP. XII.

The drink offering was always of wine; it never went alone, but attended upon other sacrifices. Burnt offerings and peace offerings had meat offerings and drink offerings joined with them; but sin offerings had none. In every sacrifice where there was a bullock slain, the quantity of the drink offering was half a hin of wine: for a ram, the third part of a hin: for a lamb or kid, the fourth part of a hin. The wine was not mingled, nor any of it thrown into the fire, as the meat offering was; but it was poured, as the blood of the sacrifice, upon the foundation of the altar. Numb. vi. 17. Lev. xxiii. 18. Numb. xv. 5, 7, 10.

Thus have we taken a short survey of the nature and manner of the Hebrew sacrifices: but before

BOOK IV. this subject be dismissed, it may be proper to inquire how these sacrifices of sin and trespass offerings and burnt offerings became paid, as the law prescribed; for how they became due has been already explained. It is possible that the offender might be unwilling to be at such expense, though he knew he ought to atone by sacrifice for such a sin, or trespass; and therefore he would spare the cost of a lamb or goat, if he knew he should be undiscovered, and come off without punishment. The provision in this case was made either by the conscience from within, or a penalty from without. Persons of any regard to piety and religion were always ready to pay obedience to the laws, and to expiate for their sins: they wanted no other motive but conscience to prevail with them to bring an offering when they knew they had committed an offence. But such who acted upon no principles of religion, and would willingly save the charge of their offerings, were afraid to refuse their sacrifices, being liable to the terrible penalty of cutting off for their contempt. If there was any evidence produced that the man had committed such a sin or trespass, and he refused to make his peace, and sue out his pardon by an expiation, he was either instantly to set aside an offering for an atonement, or his refusal heightened the offence; and, as he lay under guilt, he was to expect a severe punishment. But as far as this matter rested upon their own devotion, the nation was so zealous of their rites, and the sins that deserved cutting off were so plain, and within so narrow a compass, that the proper sacrifices were seldom denied, especially considering that they verily believed that these offerings, *ex opere*

operato, made a full atonement, and restored them to favour.

Another difficulty about these sacrifices arises from the time of their being presented and offered. A man that lived at a great distance from Jerusalem, and had fallen under such an offence, was he obliged instantly to set aside all business, and, at great expense and inconvenience, hasten thither to offer his sacrifice? The provision in this case was, that the person who became liable to any offering might defer the paying of it till the next solemn festival, when all were obliged to appear before the Lord at Jerusalem. And thus, by appointing those three public times, the ease and accommodation of the people were provided for in that general service, and a provision was made for every man's particular exigence and devotion.

CHAP. XIII.

A short account of the manner and managing of the daily service in the temple.

IN the short view that has been given of the second temple, it was observed, that upon the north side of the court, towards the north-east corner, there was a pile of building called *Beth Mokadh,* or *the fire-room,* where there was a fire constantly kept for the service of the priests, and where was the principal guard about the temple. Here they slept if they had a mind; the elder priests upon benches, the younger upon the ground, but not in the holy garments in which they were to serve. These they folded up, and laid under their heads

BOOK IV. for a pillow; and they slept in their ordinary wearing clothes.

Now very early in the morning they got up, and had bathed themselves, and put on the sacred vestments, against the president of the service (supposed to be the sagan, or president of the lots) should come. They washed no more that day, unless after going to stool, called *uncovering of the feet;* for after making of water, called *the water of the feet,* the washing of the hands and feet was sufficient.

When the president comes, he knocks at the door, and they open to him. They go out of the room, through a wicket, into the court, with candles in their hands; and there, when they are all entered, they divide themselves, and half of them go into the walk of the cloister about the temple, upon the west and south sides of the court, and the other half upon the north and east sides, and both companies meet at the pastry-man's chamber, upon the left hand of the gate of Nicanor; and when they met, they asked one another, "Is all safe and well?" "Yes, all is well." Then they call up the pastry-man, that he might make the meat offering of the high priest.

The president then calls upon them to cast lots, in order to appoint the particular service that every one was to go about: and the first lot was to determine who should cleanse the altar of burnt offering of its ashes. The manner of this ceremony has been already explained. The priest upon whom the lot fell leaves his fellows in the building Gazith, (where the lots were cast,) washes his hands and feet at the laver, and so goes about his work. He takes a silver chafingdish, which usually stood upon

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the west side of the altar, and scrapes the coals this way and that way, and takes up his dish full of burnt coals, comes down with them to the pavement, turns his face toward the north, and so goes along till he comes to the east side of the altar-rise, and there he lays the coals in a heap near the rise, in a place where the garbage of the birds, and the ashes cleansed from the golden altar, were laid.

His fellow priests observing that he was come down, immediately wash their hands and feet, and taking the shovels and hooks for that service, they turned the pieces of the last night's sacrifice, if any remained unconsumed, to the sides of the altar; and if they were more than the sides would hold, they laid them upon the altar-rise. Then they scrape the ashes upon a great heap from all sides to the middle of the altar, and taking up a quantity, as much as filled a vessel of half an homer, brought them down to the pavement, and other priests in lesser vessels carried them out of the city into a calm place, where they should not be scattered by the wind. And these ashes were never put to any use.

This duty of cleansing the altar commonly began about the dawning of the day; but upon the three solemn festivals they set about it sooner, and upon the day of expiation they began from midnight. When the ashes were brought off, they go about making the fire. Now there were three fires continually made upon the altar: the principal, called *the great pile*, was made first, somewhat towards the east side. The second was made of fig-tree only upon the side of it, from which the coals were taken to be carried into the holy place for the burning of

BOOK IV. the incense. The third fire was made indifferently upon any part of the altar, and served for no other use but to preserve the fire, that it should not go out. When the fires were made, the priests laid the parts of the last night's sacrifice that were not burnt upon it again, came down from the altar, returned into the room Gazith, and there they are called by the president to cast lots again.

The design of this second lot was to determine thirteen services more, to be assigned to so many particular men. The offices were these; to kill the sacrifice, to receive and sprinkle the blood, to cleanse the altar of incense, to dress the candlestick and lamps, to bring the head and legs of the sacrifice to the rise of the altar, to carry his two shoulders, to bear the rump and the feet, to carry the breast, weasand, and plucks, to bring the two loins, to carry the intestines, to bring the meat offering, to carry the meat offering of the high priest, and to bring the drink offering. The first of these employments was determined in the same manner as before, and the rest fell in course to the persons as they stood in order behind him who was allotted to the first of these services. Such of the priests who had none of these employments designed them, put off their sacerdotal garments, all but their linen breeches, and went about the more servile offices, such as fetching out the vessels, and removing the ashes that were brought from both the altars.

Then the president calls to them, "See whether "it be time to kill the daily sacrifice;" and one or other of them goes to the top of some of the buildings about the temple, and when he finds it to be fair day, he says, "It is fair day." "But," says the

president, "is the heaven bright all up to Hebron?" He answers, "Yes." "Then," says he, "go and "fetch the lamb out of the lamb-room;" and so he does. And though he had been searched before whether he had any blemish, yet they examine him again by candlelight, though to kill him but by day-light was unlawful. Then was he brought by the person who was to kill him to the place of the rings, and the rest follow, and wait to discharge their several offices. Others fetch out the ninety-three silver and golden vessels, which were to be used that day, and in one of them they give the lamb water to drink; for by that means they thought he would flay the easier. CHAP. XIII.

The seniors, who had the keys of the gates of the court, when they saw their time, caused the gates to be opened; and at the opening of the last gates of the two courts the trumpets sounded, and gave notice to the Levites and stationary men to give their attendance. At last the gate of the temple was open, that the two priests might go in whose office it was to dress the lamps and the golden altar; and for that purpose they had two golden vessels, the one they called *teni*, and the other *coz*. When the noise of the opening of the temple-gate was heard, the lamb was slain; and while he was slaying, the altar of incense was cleansed; and while the blood was sprinkling, some of the lamps were dressed. The priest who had the dressing of the altar took the golden dish *teni*, and set it before the altar, from whence he took a handful of coals and ashes, and put them into it, and brushed in the rest, left it standing there, and so came out. The dresser of the lamps stepped up

BOOK IV. upon a great stone that lay before the candlestick, in which were cut three steps, took the yarn and oil from the lamps that were out, put in new, and lighted them at those that were burning; but the western lamp, that is, the middlemost, which stood bending westward toward the most holy place, was not to be lighted but by fire fetched from the altar of burnt offering. The lamps that were burning he snuffed, and dressed; and supplied with new oil. And thus he did by five lamps; for he dressed not all the seven at once. Then he set down his dish *cos* upon the second step, and so came out. In the mean time the blood of the lamb was sprinkled, the sacrifice flayed and divided, the pieces were carried to the altar, salted, and left there. And now they go into the room Gazith, which they used as an oratory for public prayers.

Then the president calls upon them to go to prayers; which they begin with an address to God, that he would have pity upon them as he had upon their fathers, and incline them to understand and practise the doctrine of his laws. Then they rehearse the Ten Commandments, and after that they say over their phylacteries.

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Now follows a third lot for the burning of incense. And the priest designed for this office took a silver dish, in which there was a censer full of frankincense; another took another dish, and went to the top of the altar, and from thence took some burning coals, and came down. These two were obliged to go into the temple, and as they went they struck upon a great instrument (like a bell perhaps) that lay between the altar and the porch, which making a very great noise, gave notice to the

Tamid. Perek. 5.

priests and Levites to come and attend the service: and, say the Jews, by this means the head, or chief of the station, knew when to bring up those that had been unclean, and had not yet their atonement made, into the gate of Nicanor, in order to have them atoned for. CHAP. XIII.

As the two men who are to burn incense go up the steps, the two who had been in before to cleanse the altar of incense, and to dress the lamps, go up before them. He that had cleansed the altar goes in, takes up his dish *teni*, worships, and comes out. He that dressed the five lamps dresses now the other two, takes up his dish *coz*, worships, and comes out. He who went in with the censer of coals, after he had disposed the incense, leaves the other there, and comes out also. The priest within does not kindle the incense, till the president without calls to him, "Sir, offer the incense;" and when he had given the signal, the incense is set on fire, and all the company in the court withdraw downward from the temple to finish the rest of their prayers. The time of burning the incense is thus stated by tradition: the incense of the morning was offered between the sprinkling of the blood, and the laying the pieces upon the altar; and of the evening between the laying of the pieces upon the altar, and the drink offering.

Besides the prayers already mentioned, they used four prayers more at the morning service. The first was a confession of God's truth and kingdom and glory; the second, that God would accept the burnt offering and prayer and service of Israel; the third, that he would appoint peace and goodness and compassion for them, and remember them.

BOOK IV. in the book of life; and upon the sabbath the course that went out used a solemn benediction, as a farewell, upon the course that came in, in these words: "He that caused his name to dwell in this house "cause to dwell among you love, and brotherhood, "and friendship, and peace."

When the prayers were finished, a fourth lot was cast, to design the priest that was to lay the pieces of sacrifice upon the altar. Which being done, the priests, especially those who had been in the holy place, stood upon the stairs that went up into the porch with the holy vessels that they had used in their hands, and solemnly blessed the people.

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After the benediction the meat offering was offered, and then the meat offering of the high priest, and last of all the drink offering; and then began the song and music before mentioned, and upon every stop of the song the trumpets sounded, and the people worshipped; and having done so at the last close, they departed.

This was the order of the common service at the temple morning and evening, except that at the evening there was a small difference from this rubric; as, that the persons designed by lot to officiate in the morning continued in duty in the afternoon; only about the matter of burning incense they cast lots again among the course that served that day, that had never burnt incense before; but if all of them one time or other had been upon that employment, then the priest who served in the morning performed likewise at the evening, without casting the lot again.

CHAP. XIV.

The fasts of the Hebrews. The day of expiation.

I COME now to speak of the public fasts and festivals of the Hebrews, in the celebration of which a great part of their religion consisted. Of fasts, there was no more than one appointed by the law of Moses, called *the fast of expiation;* though in succeeding times many more were inserted into the Jewish calendar by the authority of the state, which will properly be considered in the next chapter. CHAP. XIV.

The institution of this solemn day was first occasioned from this, that Moses on that very day, after three several forty days' fasts, came down from the mount, having obtained Israel's full peace with God, and reconciliation, and brought now with him the renewed tables, and a full commission to build the tabernacle, and to set up a solemn worship in the midst of them. Lev. xvi. 1, &c.

The great day of expiation was a most severe fast, kept every year on the tenth day of the month Tizri, which answers to our September. Upon this day the high priest was allowed by God to enter into the holy of holies, the place of God's special presence; and upon this day he was permitted to go in but four times, once to burn incense, a second time to sprinkle the blood of the bullock, then to sprinkle the blood of the goat, and, lastly, to fetch out the censer wherein he burnt incense. If he went in a fifth time, he died (as the Jewish writers will have it) for his presumption. Upon this day likewise the high priest had the privilege to pronounce the word *Jehovah*, which was the proper name of God, and was never to be spoken, unless once in a

BOOK IV. year by the high priest on his entering the holy of holies upon the great day of expiation.

That the high priest might execute his office on that day as the solemnity required, when he went to the temple seven days before this great day of atonement, he was conducted with magnificent pomp from his own house, accompanied by the king, and the whole sanhedrim, the royal family, and the whole quire of priests. When he came to the temple he was set apart in a chamber appointed for that purpose, to prepare himself for the sacred offices of that day; and particularly lest his wife, proving to be in her separation, should bring upon him an uncleanness of seven days, and so prevent him of being fit for that day's services. They also appointed another priest as his substitute, to perform the service of that day, if it should happen that any uncleanness did befall him, that he could not officiate, that so the service should not fall to the ground.

Every day of these seven they caused him to sprinkle the blood of the daily sacrifice, to burn the parts of it, to offer the incense, and dress the lamps, that he might be the better inured to those services on that day when it came. On the third day, and on the seventh, they besprinkled him with the ashes of the red heifer, for fear he might have been defiled by the dead, and not aware of it. And lest he should be ignorant of his duty, (as some proved in the latter end of the Jewish state, when the high priesthood was bought for money,) or forgetful of his office, the sanhedrim sent some to read to him the rites of this day, and directed him in the rubric and order of the day's service, addressing him in this form: "Sir, high priest, read thou thyself; it

" may be thou hast forgotten, or it may be thou hast " not learned."

On the eve of the day of expiation, that is, on the day before, in the morning, they brought him to the east gate of the courts, and there they made bullocks and rams and lambs to pass before him, that he might still be the better acquainted with every thing that he had to do. After this the elders of the sanhedrim delivered him over to the elders of the priesthood, who brought him into the chamber of Abhtenes, that there he might learn to hand the incense; and there they gave him this oath: " Sir, high priest, " we are the messengers of the sanhedrim, and thou " art our messenger and the sanhedrim's; we adjure " thee by the name of Him that dwelleth in this " house, that thou alter not any thing of what we " have spoken to thee:" and so they parted weeping. Now the reason of this solemn adjuration was upon the account of the Sadducees, who affirmed that he might burn incense without the veil, and so enter into the most holy place, directly contrary to the divine appointment, which enjoined him to do it within, where nobody could see what the high priest did, and consequently could not tell whether he performed the service there aright; therefore they took this oath of him in the latter ages of their state, when some of the faction of the Sadducees were thrust into the priesthood.

The evening of the day being come, they suffered him to eat but sparingly, because fulness would make him drowsy, and for fear of nocturnal pollution, and lest any accident in the night should make him unfit to officiate the next day. All the night, if he were a man of ability, he read and expounded

BOOK IV. the scriptures to them that were with him; if he were not, some other person did it for him.

The day being come, the high priest is to prepare himself for the business of the solemnity. And first he puts off his ordinary wearing clothes, bathes himself in water upon the roof of the room Happarbah, (a fine sheet hanging between him and the sight of the people,) wipes himself dry with a towel, and puts on the rich golden garments of the high priesthood, washes his hands and feet, kills the daily sacrifice, burns the pieces, offers the incense, dresses the lamps, and does all the service belonging to the ordinary daily service; and so he does by the bullock and seven lambs of the extraordinary sacrifice. And when he had done with these, he washed his hands and his feet again. Then he put off his rich robes again, and washed himself, and put on the white linen graments, the coat, the breeches, the girdle, and the mitre. These garments were made of the most precious linen, brought from Pelusium, a city in Egypt famous for the richest and whitest manufacture of that kind, that the high priest might appear splendid in the most simple habit wherein he ministered. He was obliged to provide a young bullock for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering, to be offered for himself and his family. This bullock stood between the temple and the altar; and the high priest going up to him, presented him before God to be sacrificed, and, laying his hands upon his head, he made the following confession: "O "Lord, I have sinned, done perversely, and trans- "gressed before thee, I and mine house. O Lord, "expiate the sins, perversities, and transgressions, "whereby I have sinned, done perversely, and trans-

" gressed, I and mine house. As it is written in " the law of Moses thy servant, saying, For on this " day he will expiate for you, to purge you from all " your sins before the Lord, that ye may be clean." CHAP. XIV.

The sacrifices before mentioned were appointed to expiate the sins of the high priest and his family. The people likewise were obliged to provide two goats, of equal stature, of the same colour, and the same price (as the Hebrew doctors say) as an expiation and atonement for the sins of the whole nation. These two goats, which made but one sin offering, were brought into the inner court of the house of the Lord, and there, on the north side of the altar, presented before the high priest; the one to be what is called *the scapegoat*, and the other to be sacrificed. And in order to determine which of them should be for each purpose, there were two lots appointed to decide the matter. The method was this: the goats being put one before the right hand of the high priest, and the other before the left hand, (on his right hand likewise stood his sagan, or vicar, and on the left stood the head of his father's house,) an urn, which they called *calpi*, was brought, and placed in the middle between them, and two lots were cast into it. (They might be of wood, silver, or gold; but under the second temple they were always of gold.) On the one of these lots was written, " For the Lord," and on the other, " For the scapegoat." Then the priest, having shaken the urn, put both his hands into it, and with his right hand took out one lot, and with his left hand the other; and according to the writing on them were the goats appointed, as they stood on each hand of the high priest, either for the Lord, to

BOOK IV. be sacrificed to him, or to be the scapegoat, to be let escape into the wilderness: that is, if the right-hand lot were for the Lord, then the sagan, who stood there, said, "My lord, lift up thy right hand;" and the goat that stood before him at the right-hand was to be sacrificed. If the lot of God was brought up in his left hand, the head of the fathers said, "Lift up thy left hand;" and the left-hand goat was to be sacrificed. And so the priest let the right-hand lot fall upon the head of the goat that stood on the right hand, and his left-hand lot upon the other. It is said by the Jews, that till the death of Simon the Just, the high priest always drew out with his right hand the lot for the Lord, and with his left hand that for the scapegoat; but afterwards with each hand sometimes one lot and sometimes the other.

As soon as the goats were thus appointed each to their proper use, the high priest bound upon the head of the scapegoat a long piece of scarlet, called *a tongue*, because it was broad, and fashioned like a tongue; and they expected that when it was tied upon the scapegoat's head it should turn white. And so they say it did till the death of Simon the Just. The changing of red into white was understood as a sign that God accepted the expiation of that day; which they founded upon that text in Ch. i. 18. Isaiah, *Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.*

The two goats being thus devoted to God, the high priest returned again to his own bullock, where he left him standing, and laying his hand upon his head a second time, he makes a second confession in

the very same words that he had done the former, save that when he had said, "Wherein I have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee, "I and my father's house," he added, "and the sons "of Aaron thy holy people, as it is written in the "law of Moses,"[2] &c. When he had finished the confession, he killed the bullock with his own hands; for though all other sacrifices might be slain by any person, yet the high priest himself was bound to kill this. When he had received the blood into a bason, he delivered it to another priest to keep it in continual agitation, till he had offered incense in the holy place, that so it might not grow thick, and be clotted, but be kept liquid and thin, fit to be sprinkled before the mercy-seat. CHAP. XIV.

From the brasen altar where the bullock was slain he then took with his right hand a censer full of coals, and set them down upon a bench in the court; and from a vessel brought him, with his left hand he took as much incense as his hand would hold, and put it into a cup. The censer of coals he took in his right hand, (because it was hot and heavy, otherwise he should have carried it in his left,) and the cup of incense in his left hand, and so he went within the veil which divided the holy place from the most holy, and came up to the ark, and there he sets his coals down, empties the incense into his hands again, and so lays it on the coals, and stays till all the room was full of smoke, so that the mercy-seat, the place of the residence of the divine glory, could not be seen. He entered with his face towards the south, and so went sideways (for he might not look on the ark, where the divine glory was) till he came to the staves of the ark, where he

BOOK IV. set down the censer, and put on the incense. And having filled the house with smoke, he went out backward (out of reverence to the Divine Majesty) into the place without the veil, where when he was come he made this short prayer: "May it please "thee, O Lord God, that this year may be hot, and "also wet, that the sceptre may not depart from the "family of Judah, nor thy people of Israel want "food, and that the prayer of the wicked may not be "heard." Then he presently went out of the sanctuary, and shewed himself to the people, that they might not suspect he had done amiss, and miscarried in his office; for so, they say, it sometimes happened, that the high priest having violated these holy rites appointed by God, was struck dead in the holy place.

This being accomplished, he went to the priest, whom he left at the altar of burnt offering stirring the blood in the bason, and taking it from him, went with it into the most holy place (the second time) within the veil; and standing eastward of the mercy-seat, with his face towards it, he sprinkled of it eight times with his finger, once upward towards the upper part of the mercy-seat, and seven times downward towards the lower part of it, between the bars of the ark. When he had so done, he retired; and having set the rest of the blood in the bason in the holy place, he came out.

Then he proceeded to kill the goat devoted for sacrifice. The blood was received into a bason, as that of the bullock was, which he carried into the most holy place within the veil, and sprinkled it there eight times, as he had done the blood of the bullock; but whether he first burnt incense, as he had done before he brought in the blood of the bul-

lock, is uncertain. It is likely the fume that had been then made still remained, so that there was no need to renew it. When this had been done within, the high priest was to do the same without in the sanctuary; where he sprinkled first the blood of the bullock eight times, and then the blood of the goat, before the veil which parted the sanctuary from the holy of holies. During this action, none of the priests who used to attend in the tabernacle were to come into it, till the high priest had expiated its uncleanness, which it was supposed to have contracted by their coming into it all the year before. Then was the blood of the bullock and of the goat mingled together, with which the high priest sprinkled the golden altar, going round about it. He began first with the north-east corner, so proceeded to the north-west and south-west, and ended at the south-east. Then sprinkled he the body of the altar itself seven times, and so came out, and poured the remainder of the blood at the foot of the altar of burnt offering, on the west side.

One of the goats that were devoted to be expiatory sacrifices being slain, the other was now brought to be made an expiation for sin after another manner. The high priest was first to lay his hand upon the head of the beast, and then he made this solemn confession: "Ah! Lord, thy people, the house of "Israel, have sinned, and done perversely, and trans- "gressed before thee; I beseech thee now, O Lord, "expiate the sins, perversities, and transgressions "which the house of Israel, thy people, have sinned, "done perversely, and transgressed before thee: as "it is written in the law of Moses thy servant; For "on this day he will expiate for you, to purge you

BOOK VI. " from all your sins, that you may be clean before " Jehovah." Which last word *Jehovah*, as soon as all the priests and the people that were in the court heard pronounced by the high priest, they bowed, and fell down flat upon their faces, and worshipped, saying, " Blessed be the name of his glorious king- " dom for ever and ever." Thus the high priest by imposition of hands, and confessing the sins of the people over the goat (with prayer to God to remit them) charged them upon the goat, and the punishment of them was transferred from the people.

Buxtorf. Synagog. cap. xxi.

The modern Jews, because there can be no proper sacrifice, (the temple being destroyed,) the men take a white cock upon this day, the women a hen. This cock they swing three times about the priest's head, saying, " This cock shall be a propitiation for me." Then they kill him, confessing themselves worthy of death, and they cast the entrails upon the top of the house, that some raven or crow might carry both them and their sins into the wilderness.

As soon as the confession was made, the goat was sent away into the wilderness by a person prepared beforehand; but he was seldom an Israelite. It is not certainly known what wilderness this was; but the Hebrews call it the wilderness of Tzuk, which, they say, was ten miles from Jerusalem; and that at the end of each mile there was a booth erected, where men stood ready with meat and drink, which they offered to him that went with the goat, lest he should faint by the way. The nobles of Jerusalem, they add, accompanied him the first mile, further than which they might not go, because this day was a sabbath. After which, they that were in the first booth went with him to the next, and they that were

there to the third, and so forward to the last, that they might be sure to have this great work done, of carrying their sins quite away from them. When he came to the last stage, nobody accompanied him that led the goat any further, but he went the tenth mile alone by himself, and the men in the booth only stood looking to see what he did with it. The goat was led to the top of a rock, and then let loose, to carry the sins of the people out of sight. Till the time of Simon the Just, the Talmud says, this goat was always dashed in pieces in his fall, on his being let loose, over the precipice; but that afterwards he always escaped, and flying into Arabia, was there taken and eaten by the Saracens.

The Jews will have it, that a piece of scarlet cloth being tied upon the horns of the scapegoat, (as another was about the neck of the goat which was sacrificed,) when the man had brought it to the top of the rock Tzuk, he divided the cloth into two pieces, and let the goat go away with one, but tied the other to the rock, that he might see when it changed colour, and became white; as they say it did when the goat was thrown down headlong. Anciently, they say, this scarlet cloth was tied to the gate of the temple, and if it turned white when the goat was sent away, (as they pretend it usually did,) there was great joy among the people, because it was a sign that their sins were forgiven: but if it did not change its colour into white, they hung down their heads, and were full of sorrow, looking upon it as a token of God's wrath. And this is that *scarlet tongue* which the Talmud says looked always white till the death of Simon the Just, but afterwards sometimes white and sometimes red.

BOOK IV. After the goat was sent away, the high priest returned to the service again, and cut in pieces the bullock and goat that he had slain, and whose blood he had brought within the veil, and laid their inwards upon the altar to be burnt; but their pieces he delivered to some who carried them into a clean place without the camp, and afterwards without the city of Jerusalem, where they were entirely consumed with fire. The person who burnt these sacrifices, which were charged with so many sins, contracted a pollution, and was ordered to purify himself by washing his clothes, and bathing himself in water, before he was admitted into the camp. Then the high priest read a section or two out of the law, and offered eight several prayers to God. Then he washes his hands and feet, puts off his linen clothes, bathes himself, puts on his rich garments, washes his hands and feet again. Then he offers a ram for himself, and another for the people, and seven lambs for the additional offering of the day. And then he offered the daily evening sacrifice. This done, he washed his hands and feet again, put off his rich garments, and put on the linen garments, washed his hands and feet, and went into the most holy place to fetch out the censer, with the dish or the cup which he carried in when he went to burn incense. When he came out, he washed and put on his golden garments, and offered incense upon the golden altar, and trimmed the lamps. Which being done, they brought him his own garments which he wore constantly; and when he had put them on, they accompanied him to his house, where he entertained his friends with a feast, being come out of the sanctuary in peace, that is, safe, and in health; for by

shifting his garments, and washing so often, he was in danger to catch cold, as we speak. And they did sometimes fall into various diseases upon this occasion; and some died in the holy place, not having performed the service duly. CHAP. XIV.

This solemnity was observed with fasting and abstinence, not only from all meat and drink, but from all other pleasure whatsoever; insomuch that they might not wash their faces, much less anoint their heads, nor wear their shoes, nor use the marriage-bed, nor (if their doctors say true) read any portion of the law which would give them delight. They refrained likewise not only from pleasure, but from labour; nothing being to be done upon this day but confessing of sins, and repentance.

CHAP. XV.

The manner of fasting. The public fasts observed by the Jews, to the destruction of Jerusalem.

BESIDES the solemn fast of expiation, instituted by divine authority, the nation of the Jews, without any warrant from the law of Moses, did, upon public occasions, set aside days and seasons for humiliation and fasting; and these are called *the fasts of the congregation.* These are the calamities, says a rabbi, for which the congregation enjoins a fast: when they are afflicted by their enemies in a siege, by the sword, pestilence, a hurtful beast, locusts, the caterpillar, mildew, blasting, abortions, diseases, scarcity of bread, and drought. These public fasts were not appointed for many days successively; because it was impossible to observe them with a pro- Maimon. Taanith. cap. ii.

BOOK IV. per severity; but upon the second and fifth days of the week, that by that intermission they might the better give themselves up to mortification and abstinence; for upon these solemn seasons they never refreshed themselves with eating till the evening; and their public fasts began an hour before the sun was down, and continued strictly till midnight the following day; but they were allowed to indulge freely before they entered upon the time of fasting. Upon these days sackcloth was worn next the skin, the clothes were rent, which were expressions of the greatest heaviness and sorrow. All public diversions were forbidden, no shoes were worn; there was no washing the hands or face, no bathing of the body, no anointing with oil, but ashes were sprinkled upon the head; they lay down in the dust, the temple and synagogues were thronged with votaries, the scriptures were read with a loud voice, their prayers were long and lamentable, their conversation grave and full of the business of the day, their countenance dejected, with all the outward signs of the most serious devotion and repentance.

Maimon. Tannith. cap. i. The same rabbi, speaking of the fasts of private persons, gives an account of the occasions that obliged a man to fast for private afflictions. If any that belonged to him be sick, or lost in the wilderness, or confined in prison, he was bound to fast in his behalf. It was usual for a single person to devote himself to stated and repeated fasts for the sake of religion, even when there was no calamity or affliction of life to urge him to it; and those that did so observed the same days and severities as were used at those solemn times that were commanded by the public authority of the state.

The public fasts are disposed in the Jewish calendar in this order: CHAP. XV.

In the first month of the ecclesiastical year (the month Abib or Nisan) were appointed, upon the first day, a fast upon the account of the death of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron; on the tenth, Lev. x. 1. for the death of Miriam; and on the twenty-sixth, for the death of Joshua.

In the second month, (the month Iyar,) upon the tenth day, a fast for the death of Eli, and because the ark was captivated by the Philistines; upon the twenty-eighth, a fast for the death of Samuel.

In the third month, (the month Sivan,) upon the twenty-third day, a fast because the revolted tribes were hindered by Jeroboam from bringing their first-fruits to Jerusalem.

In the fourth month, (the month Tamuz,) upon Jer. lii. 6. the seventeenth day, a fast because the city was set on fire by the Chaldeans.

In the fifth month, (the month Ab,) upon the ninth day, a fast for the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans, and the Romans after them. These fasts of the fourth and fifth months are mentioned by the prophet Zechariah as observed annually from the Zech. viii. 19. desolation of Jerusalem to his time, which was seventy years. Upon the eighteenth day, a fast because the evening lamp went out in the reign of Ahaz.

In the sixth month, (the month Elul,) upon the seventeenth day, a fast upon the account of the death of the spies who brought an evil report upon the land.

In the seventh month, (the month Tisri,) upon the third day, a fast for Gedaliah, who was slain at

BOOK IV. Mispeh, and all the Jews that were with him were scattered. Upon the seventh day, a fast because of the sin of the golden calf.

In the eighth month, (the month Marhesvan,) upon the sixth day, a fast for the misfortunes of Zedekiah, who had his children killed before his face, and then his eyes put out by the command of the king of Babylon. Upon the nineteenth day, a fast to atone for the sins the people had been guilty of upon the account of the feast of tabernacles. Upon
1 Macc. iv. 46. the twenty-third day, a fast because the sanctuary was made desolate and the altar profaned by the Syrians.

In the ninth month, (the month Cisleu,) upon the seventh day, a fast upon the account of Jehoiakim, who burnt the book of the prophecy of Jeremiah that was written by Baruch.

In the tenth month, (the month Tebeth,) upon the tenth day, a fast, because in that month the Chaldeans began the siege of Jerusalem.

In the eleventh month, (the month Shebet,) upon the fourth day, a fast in memory of those just men who died in the days of Joshua. Upon the twenty-
Judges xx. third day, a fast because of the war between the other tribes and that of Benjamin, occasioned by the death of the Levite's wife.

In the twelfth month, (the month Adar,) upon the seventh day, a fast in memory of the death of Moses.

There are many other fasts to be met with at this time in the Jewish calendar, which, because they relate to matters of small importance, and were instituted, it is supposed, since the destruction of their nation and government, deserve no mention in this place.

CHAP. XVI.

The festivals of the Hebrews. The celebration of the sabbath.

IT has been anciently observed that the Syrians were great lovers of feasts, which made it the more reasonable, if they were so in the days of Moses, that the Hebrews, who were to be their neighbours in the land of Canaan, should be obliged to the observation of festivals, weekly, monthly, and yearly, in honour of God and his providence, from whence they are properly called *the feasts of the Lord.* CHAP. XVI.

The sabbath was the greatest of all solemnities, returning once every week; and therefore it is placed at the head of all the festivals, which are likewise called *sabbaths*, but not in so eminent a degree. The word in the original signifies *rest*, and it was expressly appointed as a sabbath of rest; because God then rested from his works, in memory of which they were to keep this day free from labour, that the belief of the creation of the world might be fixed in their minds; for it was a common saying of the Jews, that whoever did any work upon the sabbath day denied the work of the creation. They were commanded to rest this day from all bodily labour, as not to kindle a fire to dress the meat they eat upon it; which is not required upon any other day, but the fast of expiation. Concerning these days alone it is said, "Thou shalt do no "work upon it." But of the days of the other feasts no more is forbidden, but "Thou shalt do no ser- "vile work therein;" that is, the labour they used to put their slaves to was prohibited; for though they might not bake nor boil upon the sabbath, nor

BOOK IV. upon the day of expiation, yet upon other solemn days they were allowed to make provision for their tables, and for the sustenance of nature. And this sabbatical rest was to be observed, not only while they lived upon manna in the wilderness, (when God gave them a double portion upon the sixth day, that they might prepare it against the sabbath,) but in all places wherever they dwelt afterwards. A wilful profanation of the sabbath was a sort of sacrilege, and the offender was to be stoned to death. But notwithstanding the severity of this injunction, the same offices were executed in the temple upon the sabbath as upon common days; for it was proverbial to say, "There is no sabbatism in the tem- "ple."

The designation of the day, on which the sabbath was to be observed, is thus judiciously explained by Mr. Mede: "The sabbath," says he, "includes two "respects of time; first, one day of the seven, or "the seventh day after the six days' labour; second- "ly, the designation or pitching that seventh upon "the day we call *Saturday*. In both, the sabbatical "observation was a sign and profession that Jehovah, "and no other, was the God of Israel; the first ac- "cording to his attribute of Creator, the second of "deliverer of Israel out of Egypt; for by sanctify- "ing the seventh day, after they had laboured six, "they professed themselves vassals and worshippers "of that only God who created the heaven and the "earth, and having spent six days in that great "work, rested the seventh day; and therefore com- "manded them to observe this suitable distribution "of their time, as a badge and livery that their reli- "gious service was appropriate to him alone. But

Book i. Disc. 15.

" since they might profess this acknowledgment, " as well by any other six days' working, and a se- " venth's resting, as by those they pitched upon, " there being still (what six days soever they had " laboured, and what seventh day soever they had " rested) the same conformity with their Creator, " let us see the reason why they pitched upon those " six days wherein they laboured for labouring days " rather than any other; and why they chose that " seventh day, namely Saturday, to hallow and rest " in rather than any other. And this was, that they " might profess themselves servants of Jehovah their " God, in a relation and respect peculiar and proper to " themselves; to wit, that they were the servants of " that God, which redeemed Israel out of the land of " Egypt, and out of the house of bondage; and upon " the morning watch, that very day which they kept " for their sabbath, he overwhelmed Pharaoh and all " his host in the Red sea, and saved Israel that day " out of the hand of the Egyptians. But whether " this day were in order the seventh from the cre- " ation or not, the scripture is silent; for where it is " called in the commandment *the seventh day*, that " is in respect of the six days of labour, and not " otherwise; and therefore whensoever it is so call- " ed, those six days of labour are mentioned with it. " The seventh day therefore is the seventh after the " six days of labour; nor can any more be inferred " from it. The example of the creation is brought " for the quotum, one day of seven, and not for the " designation of any certain day for the seventh. " Nevertheless, it might fall out so by disposition of " Divine Providence, that the Jews' designed seventh " day was both the seventh in order from the cre-

BOOK IV. " ation, and also the day of their deliverance out of " Egypt. But the scripture no where tells us it was " so, (howsoever most men take it for granted,) and " therefore it may as well be not so."

To introduce the festival of the sabbath with more solemnity, it had a vigil before it, called *the vesper of the sabbath*, and *the day of preparation*, which began about three o'clock in the afternoon the day before. They began the sabbath from sunset, and at the same time of the day they ended it; and from the time of the evening sacrifice they disposed themselves to prepare for the strict and solemn celebration of it. This parasceue was proclaimed by sound of trumpets or horns, and by two soundings more than were used at other times; the first gave notice to the people to cease from their work, the other was to distinguish between the common day and the holy day that was then approaching. This eve of the sabbath was observed with a particular holiness: they were to set nothing on work but what would be completed before the sabbath came in; not to undertake a journey which they could not finish before the sun was set; nor were the courts of justice to sit upon life and death; all artificers were forbidden to work, except shoemakers and tailors, who were useful to mend and repair what they wore. Scribes likewise were allowed to study, that they might be prepared to expound the law the next day; and these were indulged but half the time of the preparation. The most noble and wealthy among them, who had many servants at command, would with their own hands promote this preparation; so that sometimes the masters themselves would chop herbs, sweep the house, cleave

wood, kindle the fire, and do other services again the sabbath came in. The Jews, by a decree of Augustus the Roman emperor, were exempt from summons into any court of justice upon Fridays after three o'clock in the afternoon, that they might attend to the business of the vigil, a part of which was to wash their hands and feet in warm water, in order to meet the sabbath with the greater decency.

This eve of the sabbath is called *cœna pura* by the ancient fathers of the church. The phrase is borrowed from the heathens, whose religion taught them, in their sacrifices to some of their gods and goddesses, to prepare themselves by a strict kind of holiness, at which time of preparation they partook of a supper that consisted of choice provisions, supposed to be more holy than others; and therefore it was eaten with the observation of holy rites and ceremonies; and from thence the worshippers themselves were said to be *in casto*, in a time of strictness; and *cœna pura* was the name given to this preparatory supper.

Isaac Casaubon. Exercit. 16.

At six o'clock was the entrance of the sabbath, and when the sun was upon the point of setting, the trumpets sounded again, to give notice to the people to light their sabbatical candles. This blowing (which likewise introduced the celebration of all public festivals) was made from a covered place, called in scripture *the covert for the sabbath*, where the king sat upon the sabbath and other great solemnities. These candles were to serve them till the sabbath was over; for they were not allowed to kindle a fire all that time. Men and women were obliged to have these lights in their houses, though

2 Kings xvi. 18.

BOOK IV. they were never so poor, or were forced to go a begging for oil. The lighting of this candle contributed in a great measure towards making the sabbath a delight; and it was chiefly the employment of the women to look after this business. They accounted it a matter of special import and command to hallow or sanctify the sabbath with a form of words; because it is said, *Remember the sabbath day to hallow it;* and, accordingly they used a solemn form when it came in, which they called *Kiddush;* and another when it went out, and this they called *Habdala.*

The solemnity which attended the sanctification of the sabbath when it entered was thus: they spread and furnished a table with choicer provision than was used upon common days, and with the sabbatical candle burning upon it; then the master of the house took a cup of wine, and rehearsed that part of scripture in the second chapter of Genesis, the first, second, and third verses. He blessed the wine, pronounced the hallowing benediction of the sabbath, (which, I think, he might express in his own words,) and so drank off the wine: the rest of the company drank after him, washed their hands and their feet, and fell to eat. They always eat three meals upon the sabbath, and thought they were obliged to it in honour of the day; the first was this which they eat at the entrance of it over night. The poor who lived upon alms were bound to eat three times, and the rich feasted deliciously; and every one dressed in their best clothes, which were peculiarly called *their sabbatical garments.*

The morning being come, they attend upon morning prayer in the synagogue; which being over, they

go home and eat their second meal. After this they go to hear some divinity lecture, and there spend the time till the afternoon was well advanced; then they return home and eat their third meal; and so they continue eating and drinking till the sabbath went out. At the going out of the sabbath, which was about sun-setting, the master of the family again gave thanks over a cup of wine, and over the candle likewise, which he was obliged to light at the departing of the sabbath. And this ceremony he also used over some spices, that were provided to refresh any person that should faint for sorrow to part with the joy of the sabbath; (it is the reason they give themselves;) and then he pronounced the blessing of separation, so called, because it divided between the sabbath that was going out, and the working day coming in; and so he and the company drink off a cup of wine, and fall to their victuals again.

This was the festivity that attended upon the sabbath; but besides this there was a religious regard paid to it above the observation of common days, which consisted of an additional sacrifice of two lambs of the first year, and without blemish, over and above the daily sacrifice that was constantly offered. Whether one of these lambs was slain in the morning, and the other added at the evening sacrifice, is not expressed; but it is most probable that the sabbatical sacrifices were thus ordered. And as the burnt offerings were double upon this day, so a double quantity of flour is ordered for the meat offering; and consequently there was to be as much more oil and wine as was daily used. As soon as the drink offering was poured out, the Levites began to sing; for the burnt offering was

BOOK IV. not perfect till the drink offering was poured out, whereby it was completed. They sung the song of Moses, in the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, *Hear, O heavens, and I will speak*, &c. It was not sung all at one time, but they divided it into six parts, one of which they went over every sabbath; and so in six sabbath days they finished, and then began again. Thus did they at the additional morning sacrifice. At the evening sacrifice they used the song of Moses in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus. Now at the additional sacrifice, and song of the sabbath, the priests sounded their trumpets three blasts more than they did at the ordinary songs, the singers making their pauses and stops in those songs as well as in the other.

This festival of the sabbath (as before observed) was kept with great strictness from work and bodily labour, which by degrees grew into a superstitious rigour, insomuch that they would not defend their lives upon that day if they were assaulted, but would patiently offer their throats to be cut rather than move a hand in their own defence. But the mischief and folly of this principle being sufficiently evident from what they suffered by it in the first beginnings of the Maccabean wars, it was then determined by Mattathias and his followers, that the laws of the sabbath, in cases of necessity, did not bind; and therefore they unanimously decreed, that whenever they should be assaulted upon the sabbath day, they would fight for their lives, and that it was lawful for them to do so. This decree was ratified by the consent of all the priests and elders among them, and they sent it to the rest of the Jews, who stood out in the observance of the law, wherever

dispersed through the land, by whom it was received with the same consent and approbation; and it was made the rule in all their wars which they afterwards waged against any of their enemies. But this decree being understood only to hold good against a direct and immediate assault, but not against any preceding preparation leading to it, they conceived that it did not allow any work to be done upon the sabbath for preventing or destroying the worst designs of mischief, till they came actually to be executed against them; and therefore though the Jews vigorously defended themselves upon the sabbath, when assaulted by the Romans, yet they would not stir a hand in order to hinder the works of the enemy, or destroy their engines, or obstruct their erecting of them, as they did upon other days. This superstition was observed by Pompey, who ordered that no assault should be made upon them during their sabbaths, but that those days should be employed in carrying on their works. By this means the Romans gained considerable advantages; and having without opposition advanced with their engines of battery near the walls, they soon became masters of the temple and city of Jerusalem. The modern Jews are not so strict in their notions of the sabbatical rest; for they have a common saying among them, "that danger of life drives away the "sabbath." CHAP. XVI.

But notwithstanding the superstition of the Jews with relation to the sabbath, yet they have explained a precept in the law of Moses, *Let no man go out of his place upon the seventh day*, with sufficient liberty; and assert, that the law is not violated, if a man did not go above two thousand cubits from the Exod. xvi. 29.

BOOK IV. city where he dwelt, which they call *a sabbath day's journey.* This was the distance between the ark and the camp when they marched, and probably the same proportion was observed when they rested, and is computed to be about the space of a mile. This exposition they justify from hence; that if the Israelites were allowed to go from their tents to the tabernacle to worship upon a sabbath-day, which was the distance of two thousand cubits, it could be no breach of the sabbath to go so far upon that day upon any other occasion.

Josh. iii. 4.

This space of a sabbath-day's journey was measured every way without the cities, that the certain bounds might be fixed, and that there might be no mistake in a matter in which they placed so much religion. If a city was perfectly square, they measured with a line of flax the distance of fifty cubits on every side: if it was round, or triangular, or of any other shape, they reduced it into a square, and measured from every side of it.

CHAP. XVII.

The new moon.

THERE is no express command in the law of Moses to celebrate the first day of every month, called *the new moon,* with the solemnity of a festival; yet because their great feasts depended upon the observation of these days, and special sacrifices were appointed upon them, they were always regarded by the Jews with particular ceremonies, and as seasons of religious worship and devotion. It is certain, that the idolatry of worshipping the sun, moon, and

Numb. x. 10.

stars, prevailed in the world in the days of Moses, and the heathens at the appearance of every moon expressed great joy, and offered sacrifices to it; and therefore it is probable that God designed to preserve his people from those pagan ceremonies, by appointing particular sacrifices to be offered to himself at that time.

It was the business of the great sanhedrim to give notice to the whole nation of the appearance of the new moon, that they might fix their monthly feasts, and know when to celebrate their solemnities; for though most of the judges were well skilled in astronomy, (having the different phases of the moon drawn out upon the walls of the court where they sat,) and by their art knew perfectly when the new moon should appear; yet they did not determine of the thing, till they had the positive evidence of two credible men that they had seen the new moon. For this purpose many couples would repair to Jerusalem, who having seen the new moon set out to give testimony of it, and were handsomely entertained at the public charge.

When they had evidence sufficient that the moon had appeared, the sanhedrim declared aloud, "The "feast of the new moon, The feast of the new moon," and took this method to give public notice of it to the whole country: at night they ordered a person to go up to the top of mount Olivet with a bundle of the most combustible wood and other stuff, and there he set it on fire, (like a beacon,) and waved it up and down, and this way and that way, and never left till he saw another do so upon another hill, and so another upon a third; and thus was the intelligence conveyed to the whole nation. The country

BOOK IV. observing the flames and blazes, knew that the new moon had appeared the night before, and that the sanhedrim had (as the method was) fixed upon the day past for the first day of the month, and they knew how to reckon forward themselves. But this practice had often deceived them; for their neighbours the Samaritans, and other profane persons about them, would make flames and blazings at unseasonable times, in order to lead them into mistakes; and therefore they used another way of giving notice, which was by sending messengers up and down the country for this purpose.

If the weather chanced to be dark and cloudy, and an exact discovery could not be made, any mistake occasioned from hence was taken care of, and amended before the beginning of the next month. And because in every degree of the change of the moon there was a kind of mutual participation both of the old and new moon, the Jews generally observed two days, the last of every month, and the first of the next following. Now because the thirtieth day was the last in their longest months, hence Horace calls these last days *tricesima sabbata;* the first days they called *neomenias,* or *new moons.*

These messengers were sent abroad upon this occasion only upon seven months in the year: in the month Nisan, that the people might know the day of the passover; in the month Iyar, to give notice of the passover in the second month; in the month Ab, because of the fast upon the ninth day for the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans; in the month Elul, because of the beginning of the year the next month after; for Elul was most commonly a month of nine and twenty days only; and so by

knowing the first day of Elul they could observe the thirtieth day for the first of Tisri, that is, for the beginning of the civil year. If there was no discovery made, either by the sight of the moon, or by intelligence from the sanhedrim, that that proved the first day of the month, they kept the next day after it also for it, that they might be sure to be on the safe side. In the month Tisri, the messengers were sent upon the account of the day of expiation and the feast of Tabernacles; in Cisleu, because of the feast of Dedication; and in Adar, because of the feast of Purim. This way of computing was used by the Jews as long as their polity continued; but since, they observe their days of the new moon, not from the appearance of the moon, but from the time of her conjunction with the sun.

The new moon was published to the people by the sound of trumpets; and the day had a kind of holiness belonging to it, but inferior to that of other festivities and solemn days, upon which they abstained from all servile work, which was not forbidden at this time, when nothing more was required but the following sacrifices; two young bullocks, one ram, seven lambs of the first year, without spot, for burnt offerings, with the meat and drink offerings that belonged to them, and a young goat for a sin offering. The burnt offerings were offered besides the daily sacrifice, and the two lambs, if the first day of the month fell out to be a sabbath; in which case, and all others where several solemnities met together upon the same day, the daily sacrifice was offered first, and then the rest of the sacrifices peculiar for that day were to be performed every one in their order. For example; if

Numb. xxviii. 11. &c.

Aberb. Præf. ad Levit.

BOOK IV. the sabbath, the new moon, and the feast of trumpets fell out upon the same day, they began with the daily morning sacrifice, after which followed the sacrifices proper to the sabbath, and after that the sacrifice appointed on the new moon, and then those that belonged to the feast of trumpets; and all was concluded with the evening sacrifice.

Numb. xviii. It is well observed by the learned Grotius, that the law of Moses appointing at this time a goat for a sin offering, speaks expressly that it shall be an offering unto the Lord; which words, says the commentator, were added to put them in mind of the right object of worship, when the Hebrews were in danger to offer sacrifices to the moon, after the manner of the heathens. This is the more to be regarded, because a goat being appointed to be offered at two other solemnities, and for a sin offering, it is not said, *unto the Lord,* (though certainly so intended,) because there was nothing at those times to direct their sacrifices to a wrong object, as there was upon the new moons, when the heathen offered a goat unto the moon, it being a creature whose horns are sharp, resembling those of a new moon. A judicious rabbi upon this occasion remarks, that though burnt offerings, being wholly consumed, might properly be said *unto the Lord;* whereas sin offerings were commonly eaten by the priests; yet this sin offering is peculiarly said to be unto the Lord, lest this goat should seem to be a sacrifice to the moon, after the manner of the Egyptians. There was no occasion to speak in this form of the goats offered at other solemn times, because they were not sacrificed in the beginning of the month, nor distinguished from other days by any natural sign, but only by the ap-

Maimon. More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 46.

pointment of the law, which makes use of these words peculiarly concerning this goat, to root out of the thoughts of men those inveterate and pernicious opinions of the Gentiles, who had long sacrificed to the moon at this time, as they did to the sun at his rising, and when he entered into the several signs.

CHAP. XVIII.

The annual festivals of the Hebrews. The feast of Pentecost.

THE annual festivals of the Jews appointed by the law of Moses were, the feast of Pentecost, the feast of Trumpets, and the feast of Tabernacles.

The first of these solemn festivals is generally distinguished by the name of Pentecost, which, from the Greek derivation, signifies the fiftieth day; because it was observed upon the fiftieth day after the second day of the passover, which was the sixteenth of the month Nisan, that is, upon the sixth day of the month Sivan. In the Hebrew the name of this feast signifies *the end,* or *the conclusion;* because it might be said to be the finishing of the passover. The Jews in their writings often mention this feast by a word which signifies *a refraining,* or *shutting up;* implying, that it was a solemn holyday, interdicted and restrained from work. It was called likewise *the feast of weeks;* because it was observed at the end of seven weeks, or a week of weeks after the second day of the passover, or fifty days after the first day of unleavened bread. They counted the weeks from the day of offering and waving the firstfruit sheaf, which was the second day in the passover

Deut. xv. 10.

BOOK IV. week, and the next day after the expiring of seven weeks, being the fiftieth day from hence, was the day of Pentecost, as the word imports. Now the dependance of Pentecost upon waving the firstfruit sheaf was for this reason; because upon this second day of the passover barley-harvest began, and from that time forward they might eat parched corn, or corn in the ear, but by Pentecost their corn was inned, and seasoned, and ready to make bread; and now they offered the first of their bread. The presenting of the first sheaf was an introduction to their harvest. This sheaf was of barley, which was ripe in that country near a month sooner than the wheat. The feast of Pentecost was a return or offering of their harvest when their corn was reaped and in the barn; therefore this solemnity is sometimes called *the harvest feast,* or *the feast upon the end of harvest.*

Exod. xxiii. 16.

Lev. xxiii. There was but one holyday instituted by the law of Moses in the feast of Pentecost, which is more peculiarly called *a solemn day.* This was the first day of the solemnity, yet the feast itself continued for seven days: and if any one had omitted his proper offerings in the beginning of the feast, he repaired this negligence or defect by making his offerings upon any other of the seven days. But though there was but one solemn day in this festival observed in the land of Israel, yet among the Jews in foreign countries there were two, which also happened in other solemnities. For instance; within Palestine they kept but one day holy in the beginning of the year, that is, the first day of the month Tisri; but in Babylon, and remote countries, they observed both the first and the second day: and the rea-

son was, because at so great a distance from the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, they could not be exactly certain of the precise day that had been stated by the sanhedrim; they therefore observed two days, that by the one or the other they might be sure to fall upon the right. CHAP. XVIII.

It is observed, that the Jews most passionately desired the coming of this festival. And upon this occasion, Maimonides remarks, that they were obliged to count the days till it came; just, says he, as a man who expects his best friend is used to tell the days and hours till he arrive. And therefore the present Jews begin this supputation with a solemn prayer in this form: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our "God, the Lord of the world, who hast sanctified "us with thy precepts, and commandest us to num- "ber the days of harvest; and this is the first day." Thus they go on to pray till the seventh day, when they add, "Now there is one week;" and so they proceed in the same prayers to the evening of Pentecost. Which feast they being unable now to observe as the law appoints, they pray to God every day, after they have done counting, that he would restore Jerusalem and the temple; and then they promise to do all that the law prescribes. This counting in some places is performed in their synagogues, yet so that every master of a family is obliged every night to do it at home. More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 43. Buxtorf. Synag. cap. 20.

The solemnity of this festival consisted in observing the following ceremonies. They were to offer two cakes baked with leaven of the corn of the harvest now reaped, or of new corn. And if it be inquired why leaven was used at this time, when it was so expressly forbidden at the passover, the Jews

BOOK IV. give this reason; because these loaves or cakes were an offering in behalf of the bread which they were ordinarily to eat, (for these were the firstfruits of their wheat,) but their bread at the passover was in memory of their sudden departing out of Egypt, when they could not stay to have their bread leavened. These cakes were made square, each cake seven hands' breadth long, four broad, and four high. With these cakes were also offered seven lambs, and one bullock, and two rams, for a burnt offering; a kid for a sin offering; and two lambs for a peace offering. These lambs were the only peace offerings that the congregation offered; and they of all peace offerings were esteemed to be of the most holy.

Lev. xxiii. 20. Now these peace offerings of lambs were commanded to be waved up and down with the two cakes; and the manner of that action was thus: the priest first waved the lambs up and down while they were alive, and then slew them; and having flayed them, he took out the breast and shoulder of either of them, and laid them close by the side of the two cakes, and putting his hand under them, he waved them all together, upwards and downwards, and this way and that way, and all towards the east. The intestines were afterwards burnt, and the priest eat the rest of the flesh. As for the cakes, the high priest took the one, and the other was divided among all the courses that were then present; for nothing that was leavened was to be burnt upon the altar.

Upon this festival all the males were to appear at the temple, as at the passover and the feast of tabernacles. But it was not so much the solemnity or multitude of the sacrifices of this day that required this

general appearance; though the offerings were many and solemn; but it was the memorial which the feast carried with it of the delivery of the law from mount Sinai, which was given upon the fiftieth day after their coming out of the land of Egypt. CHAP. XVIII.

Before the solemnities of the day began, there was public proclamation made that it was to be kept holy, and that the people should solemnly meet to celebrate the mercies of God with sacrifices of thanksgiving and public rejoicings. This was called *a holy convocation*, assembled partly to commemorate the giving of the law, (which was the great end, says Maimonides, of their coming out of Egypt,) and partly to return thanks for the fair hopes they had of a prosperous harvest. Lev. xxiii. 21.

Besides the sacrifices and oblations before mentioned, at this feast of Pentecost they paid their tithes of corn, as much as was threshed, (as the firstlings and tithe of cattle were paid at the passover,) and gave a tribute, as it is called, *of a free-will offering of their hand.* And this feast ending their harvest, is the reason why at the mentioning of it there is a law annexed, which commands that they should *not gather their lands clean, but leave some gleanings for the poor;* which was also a secondary offering unto God himself. This law, which forbids them *wholly to reap the corners of their fields*, was a merciful provision for the poor. The gloss given by their wisemen upon this precept is, that they were to leave a sixtieth part, and that in the extreme part of the field rather than any other place, that the poor might know where to come for it; and this whether they were in the land of Israel, or out of it. So charitable were the Jews upon this occasion, Lev. xxiii. 22. Lev. xix. 9.

BOOK IV. that they usually added something to the sixtieth part, proportionable to the largeness of the field, or the multitude of the poor, or the greatness of the crop. If an ear or two of corn fell (as they cut it, or bound it up) out of the sheaves, or from under their sickle, they were not to gather them up from the ground, but leave them for the poor. But if there fell three ears at a time, (say the Talmudists,) they were allowed the liberty to gather and bind them up again.

CHAP. XIX.

The feast of Trumpets.

THE feast of Trumpets was another annual festival expressly enjoined by the law of Moses, and was observed upon the first day of the seventh month, called *Tisri;* and it was the beginning of the civil year, and might properly be called *new year's day.* It is expressly called *a sabbath,* and was a very solemn day, on which no servile work was to be done, only provision made for their meals, which were usually very liberal at this time; and among other dishes, they served up to the table a ram's head, in memory of that ram that was sacrificed in the room of Isaac, which they fancy was upon this day. The seventh month was the first month of the year, according to the ancient computation, and continued so still to several purposes; particularly with respect to their Jubilee, when they were to sound the trumpets, as they did upon this day, which was the chief new moon in the whole year; not only because of the additional sacrifices that belonged to it, and for that upon other new moons they blowed no trumpets, but

because it fell at a time when all the fruits of the earth were gathered in.

It has been before observed, that all the festivals of the Jews were introduced by the sound of trumpets; but this was attended with more solemnity than was common; for they began to blow at sunrising, and continued it till sun-set. He that sounded began with the usual prayer: "Blessed be God, "who hath sanctified us with his precepts," &c. subjoining these words: "Blessed be God, who hath "hitherto preserved us in life, and brought us unto "this time." When all was ended, the people said with a loud voice these words of the Psalmist: *Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance.* Psal. lxxxix. 15. And whereas in other places the beginning of the year was sounded with a trumpet of ram's or sheep's horn, at the temple there was that and two silver trumpets also used, and the Levites upon that day sung the eighty-first psalm. Such blowing of trumpets was used by the Gentiles, particularly in the solemnities they observed in honour of the mother of the gods; one whole day (which was the second) being spent in blowing of trumpets, as Julian tells us in his fifth oration upon this subject. Buxtorf. Synagog. cap. 24.

This festival is expressly called *a memorial of blowing of trumpets;* but it is not so easy to determine what this blowing of trumpets was a memorial of. Maimonides will have it to be instituted to awaken the people out of sleep, and call them to repentance; being to put them in mind of the great day of expiation, which followed nine days after. This he explains more largely in a treatise of re- Lev. xxiii. 24.

BOOK IV pentance, where he says; "The sound of the trum-
Jad. Chazakah, cap. 3. "pet at this time did in effect say, Shake off your "drowsiness, ye that sleep, and being awaked, watch "to your duty. Search and try your ways, remem- "ber your Creator, and repent. You, whom the "vanity of the times has led into a forgetfulness of the "truth, who spend your days wandering after empty "things, which profit nothing, bethink yourselves, "and take care of your souls. Let every one for- "sake his evil way, and his thoughts which are not "good." And accordingly he says in the same place, that the Israelites were used to multiply alms and good works, and to apply themselves to the precepts (as the phrase is) from the beginning of the year till the day of atonement, more diligently than at any other time, rising in the night to pray in their synagogues till break of day, &c. But though this be very pious, it is not sufficiently supported: nor has it more foundation than the opinion that this blowing of trumpets was in memory of the
P. Fag. in Lev. xxiii. deliverance of Isaac; and therefore they used rams' horns, because a ram was sacrificed instead of him. But why should not the blowing of trumpets be commanded for a preparation to other solemn days, and in memory of other deliverances, as well as that
In Psal. lxxx. of Isaac? Basil imagined, that by these soundings the people were put in mind of that day wherein they received the law in mount Sinai with blowing of trumpets.

It seems more probable, that since all nations made great shouting, rejoicing, and feasting in the beginning of the year, at the first new moon, in hopes that the rest of the year by this means would prove more prosperous, God was pleased to

ordain this festival among his people, in honour of himself, upon the day of the first new moon, (which was to be continued every first day of the month,) that He might preserve them from the worship of the moon, and make them sensible that He alone gave them good years, and renewed his mercies daily, from month to month, upon them. Others imagine, that God marked this month with a peculiar honour, because it was the seventh; that as every seventh day was a sabbath, and every seventh year the land rested, so every seventh month of every year should be a kind of sabbatical month, there being more feasts or solemn days to be observed in it than in all the year besides: and upon that account the people might be awakened by this blowing of trumpets to observe them with the proper ceremonies. CHAP. XIX.

But all this does not explain what this blowing of trumpets was a memorial of, which I take to be the creation of the world, which was in autumn. Upon this account it was that they anciently began their years at this time, as the eastern people do at this day. By this means they also confessed the divine goodness in blessing all the year past, and bringing them to the beginning of a new year, which they prayed that God would make happy and propitious to them.

The sacrifices to be offered upon this day were, first the daily burnt sacrifice, then the sacrifices appointed for the first day of every month, then the proper sacrifices, over and above the rest, appointed for the first day of the seventh month, which consisted of a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs for burnt offerings, and a goat for a sin offering. Numb. xix. 1, &c.

CHAP. XX.

The feast of Tabernacles.

BOOK IV. THE Greek word used to express this festivity properly signifies *the making of tabernacles;* but it is translated *a feast of tabernacles* from the Hebrew. The reason of both is, because all the time of this feast (which began upon the fifteenth of the month Tisri, and may be said to continue eight days) the nation of the Jews remained in tabernacles and booths. And in this festival there was more rejoicing than in any of the other, and more parts and varieties of solemnity.

Lev. xxiii. 34, &c. The scripture gives this account of the end and intention of this feast of Tabernacles; and expressly asserts, that the design of it was to commemorate the goodness of God, who protected the Israelites in the wilderness, and made them dwell in booths when they came out of Egypt. It was instituted in memory of the divine Providence which overshadowed and was a covering to them (when they had no houses) by that glorious cloud that went before to conduct them: for during the forty years in the wilderness, it overspread them like a tabernacle, and defended them from the injury of the weather, and the wild beasts, and all their enemies; they having no shelter in this desolate place, but only this. And therefore this feast was appointed to make them sensible how very happy they were in goodly cities, and fine painted houses, (as the Jewish writers speak,) when they came to the good land promised to their fathers, who wandered in a howling wilderness, without a certain dwellingplace.

But though Moses gives but this reason for the

custom of dwelling in booths at this feast, yet some learned men have conceived that the original of this solemnity had a great deal more in it than this. They say, that Moses having by prayer and fasting made peace with God about the business of the golden calf, and obtained a new commission to build the tabernacle, which had been suspended because of that sin, upon the tenth day of the month Tisri (about the three and twentieth of our September) he came down from the mount, and brought tidings of peace and reconciliation to the people; for which reason that day was observed for the day of reconciliation, or expiation, ever after. And the people hearing that they were to build a tabernacle, in which God was to dwell among them, and that they were to remove from mount Sinai till that was finished, they applied themselves to pitch their tents, and make booths for their winter abode, and then they set about the work of the sanctuary. And this, they say, gave occasion to the observation of this solemn feast in succeeding times. What satisfaction this account may give, the learned reader is to judge. CHAP. XX.

The law commanded that this festival should be celebrated in the seventh month, in memory of their dwelling in booths when they came out of Egypt. It is certain, that they left Egypt in the first month of the ecclesiastical year, and then they began to dwell in tabernacles at Succoth, and from that place were conducted ever after under the cloud; which being in that month we call March, some have thought it had been most proper to have kept this feast at that time of the year, and not in September. To this the Jews answer, that in March summer

Exod. xii. 37; xiii. 20.

BOOK IV. began, when it was usual for people to dwell in booths, as more refreshing than houses; so that if they had observed this feast then, it would not have been known that they dwelt in booths by a singular command of God, and in memory of a divine benefit; but men would have thought that the season of the year led them to it; therefore God appointed it in the seventh month, which is a time of cold and rain, when men commonly left their tabernacles and betook themselves to their houses, that it might appear that they did not go out of their houses into booths for their own pleasure, or from common custom, but by the divine precept, in memory of a wonderful mercy they had received; yet the fifteenth day of the month was ordained for the beginning of this feast; because it was upon the fifteenth of the first month that they marched out of Egypt to Succoth.

Munster in Lev. xxiii. The first instance of celebration observed upon this festival was their dwelling in booths, which they began to do upon the first day of the feast, and so continued for seven days. Their booths were made of boughs of trees, like harbours or bowers, in the making of which, for height and breadth, and place and fashion, it would be endless to trace their curiosity and traditions; only it may be observed, that they were made in the open air, not within doors, or under the shelter of a tree; they were not to be covered with clothes, nor made too close by the thickness of the boughs; but so loose that the sun and the stars might be seen, and the rain descend through them. In these they were to eat and drink and sleep during the continuance of this festival. But sick persons, who could not

bear the smell of the earth, might stay at home; and the rabbins also freed women and little children from this obligation. If the rain likewise proved so great that they could not live dry, and the cold so intense that it endangered their healths, they might all return to their houses. CHAP. XI.

In the time of Nehemiah they made their booths, some upon the roof of their houses, (which were flat,) some in their court-yards, and some in the streets. Nehem. viii. 15.

The trees from whence they gathered the boughs, the Jews fancy, were fruit-bearing trees, with their fruit as well as leaves on them; and the particular kinds mentioned in the law are called *palm-trees, thick trees,* and *willows of the brook.* The first was a tree with spacious leaves, the most proper to defend them from the inclemency of the weather, with which Judæa abounded, and was so noted for them, that in the ancient coins the country was represented by a palm-tree; the thick trees the Jews take for myrtles, which have very thick leaves and boughs close one to another, though the leaves be small; and the willows of the brook, it is thought, served to twine about the rest and bind them together.

Maimonides, the oracle of the Jews, conceives that the boughs of the citron-tree are likewise to be used upon this occasion. And the Jews are so possessed with this opinion, that at this day they fancy the feast cannot be celebrated without such branches; and for this purpose such as live in Germany, and other countries, send into Spain, and endeavour to get one every year with the citrons upon it. When the feast is over, they offer the citrons as a great present to their friends.

BOOK IV.

But the command in the law concerning the boughs and branches of these trees being expressed in a general way, *Ye shall take unto you upon the first day boughs of goodly trees*, there arose a dispute between the Pharisees and the Sadducees for what end these boughs and branches were appointed: the Sadducees held that they were for making of the booths; but the Pharisees determined (and they carried it) that these were branches and fruit of trees that they were to carry in their hands at this festival, and that they might make their booths of any other trees as they pleased themselves.

Upon the first day of the feast therefore they prepared branches of palm, willow, and myrtle, and tied them together with gold or silver twist, or with other strings, or twigs; and these they carried in their hands every day of the feast; let them go whither they would, to the temple, to the synagogue, to visit the sick, or to any other place, these they were obliged to carry always with them. The willow branches they procured a little below Jerusalem, upon the banks of Kidron, and every one got two, one to tie up with his palm and myrtle branches, which he carried in his hand, and one for the altar; for once every day they came into the court and went about the altar, and set their boughs bending towards it; and cried *Hosanna*, or *Save now, O Lord; O Lord, send now prosperity.* The trumpets sounded in the mean time, and upon the seventh day they go about the altar seven times; and this was called *the great Hosanna;* and every day when they went away they said, "Beauty be to thee, "O altar! Beauty be to thee, O altar!" The feast of Tabernacles is called by the rabbins by the name of

Psal. cxviii. 25.

Hosanna; and upon the last day of the feast they repeat it often, as may be seen in their book of rituals, saying, "For thy sake, O our Creator, Ho- "sanna; for thy sake, O our Rédeemer, Hosanna; "for thy sake, O our Seeker, Hosanna;" as if they addressed themselves to the blessed Trinity to save them and send help to them. CHAP. XI.

It was a custom at first to bring their branches upon the first day of the feast into the temple, and there leave them till the next morning sticking about the cloister that surrounded the mountain of the house, and the next morning to come and take them in their hands again. But this practice occasioned quarrels and disputes among them, about determining every man's own; so that the sanhedrim thought fit to order that every one should take his branch with him home, and bring it from thence the next day.

Because the law obliges them to take the fruit of goodly trees at this festival, the Jews universally understand it of the fruit of a citron-tree; and this construction is so generally received, that as they carried branches in one hand at the feast of tabernacles, so they carried a pome-citron in the other. And thus furnished they went to the temple to attend the killing of the daily sacrifice, and stayed there till it was offered. And now followed that strange rite of drawing and pouring out of water, which was a ceremony that gave them the greatest joy and delight of any that belonged to this festival; insomuch that the Talmudists have this noted saying: "He that never saw the rejoicing of drawing water "never saw rejoicing in all his life." The manner was thus: when the parts of the sacrifice were laid

BOOK IV. upon the altar, one of the priests with a golden tankard went to the fountain of Siloam, and there filled it with water. He returned back into the court through the water-gate, and when he came there the trumpets sounded. He goes up to the rise of the altar, where stood two basons, one with wine in it, and into the other he put the water; and he pours either the wine into the water, or the water into the wine, and poured them out by way of libation.

This custom is supposed to be referred to by our Saviour, when he cried upon the last and great day of the feast: *If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink;—out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.* It is difficult to find a tolerable reason for this practice at the feast of Tabernacles, especially since the Jewish writers afford no satisfaction concerning it. Perhaps it might be done in memory of that water which followed the Israelites all the time they were in the wilderness, without which they had perished; and thus they thought fit to express their gratitude to God, who brought them into *a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills.*

John vii. 37, 38.

Deut. viii. 7, 8.

At the time of this libation the music played, and the Hallel was sung. When they came to the beginning of the hundred and eighteenth psalm, *O give thanks unto the Lord,* all the company shook their branches; and so they did when they came to these words, *Hosanna,* or *save now, Lord, I beseech thee;* and again at the saying of that clause, *O Lord, I beseech thee send now prosperity;* and so likewise at the saying of the last verse of that psalm, which was the conclusion of the Hallel, *O give thanks unto the Lord.*

After the service of the daily sacrifice were offered the additional sacrifices, which, with the daily sacrifices of the time, amounted to two hundred and fifteen, the number of years that the Israelites continued in Egypt. There was a remarkable canon observed in the offering of these sacrifices, that a bullock less was offered every day than had been offered the day before; and yet the same number of rams, lambs, and goats, were used every day; for upon the first day of the feast were offered thirteen bullocks, upon the second day (when all the males were to appear in the court) twelve, upon the third day eleven, and so downward; and yet upon every day were sacrificed two rams, fourteen lambs, and one goat, without any alteration. The reason of this diminution in the number of bullocks the Jews deliver to be this: the whole number of bullocks to be offered at this solemnity was seventy, according to the languages of the seventy nations, or the whole world, (for whom they say these sacrifices were performed,) signifying thereby that there should be a gradual diminution of those nations till all things were brought under the government of the Messiah, who was the expectation and hope of the Gentiles. Others imagine that the seventy bullocks were offered for the seventy nations, to make atonement for them; for in the feast of Tabernacles they say that "judgment was made as to the waters;" that is, God determined what rain should be for the year following. At this festival the four and twenty courses of the priests attended; and it was so managed, that every course should have a share in offering one beast or other every day till the solemnity ended.

Numb. xxix.

Hospinian de Origin. hu. Festi.

BOOK IV. At the offering of the additional sacrifices there were peculiar psalms sung by the Levites; upon the first day the hundred and fifth; upon the second, the twenty-ninth; upon the third, the fiftieth, beginning at the sixteenth verse; upon the fourth, the ninety-fourth, beginning at the sixteenth verse; upon the fifth, the ninety-fourth, beginning at the eighth verse; upon the sixth day the eighty-first psalm, beginning at the sixth verse; upon the seventh, the eighty-second psalm, beginning at verse the fifth.

When these sacrifices were finished, the people went home to dinner, (after they had sung their Hosanna about the altar, with their palms in their hands,) unless any of them had vow or freewill offerings to make, and then they stayed. After dinner they usually spent some time in the divinity schools, or in the study of the law, till the time of the evening sacrifice.

About night they began their rejoicing for the pouring out of water. For this purpose they went into the court of the women, and there the women placed themselves upon balconies round about the court, and the men stood upon the ground. There were four golden candlesticks fixed to the walls of a great bigness; over these were golden cups; and near them were four ladders raised, by which four of the younger priests went up, having bottles in their hands that contained a hundred and twenty logs of oil, which they emptied into every cup. With this oil, and yarn ravelled of the old garments of the priests, they furnished the candlesticks, and set them a burning.

And now the Levites with their harps, psalteries,

cymbals, and other instruments, began to play; and CHAP. XI
whoever of them, or of the priests, that were musical, either with instrument or voice, joined his music. In the mean time the seniors and grandees of the people, the members of the sanhedrim, rulers of the synagogues, doctors of the schools, and all who were distinguished by their piety and the dignity of their office, fell a dancing, leaping, and capering, singing songs and doxologies with lighted torches in their hands; and this wild sort of devotion held for the most part of the night. At last, when the night was far advanced, two priests standing in the gate of Nicanor blow their trumpets, and so coming downwards through the court of the women they continue sounding till they came to the east gate of the court; then they turn their faces from the east to the west, and say; "Our fathers "who were in this place turned their backs upon "the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards "the east, where the sun rises; but as for us, we "turn our faces towards God, and worship him." Thus they conclude the jollity of the time; being sleepy and tired, some return to their houses, and others stay in the court all night. In this manner was the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles every day; only there was this difference among the days, that upon the night before the sabbath that fell within the feast, and upon the last night of the seven days, they did not dance; but upon the seventh day they went about the altar seven times with their branches, in memory of the overthrow of Jericho; for which reason, or because palm-branches were the chief in the bundle, it was called *dies palmarum*, "the feast of palms."

BOOK IV. It may be observed, that whereas God commanded the observation of this feast upon the fifteenth of the seventh month, Jeroboam, in order to corrupt the established worship, appointed a feast upon the fifteenth day in the eighth month, which without doubt was this feast of Tabernacles; and possibly, say the Jewish writers, he might give this reason for his impious presumption: that this feast being instituted after the gathering of their fruits, which were sooner ripe about Jerusalem than in the northern parts of the country, he pretended the eighth month would be a better time for it than the seventh. But his chief design by this change was certainly to make a schism in the church, and to alienate the people from the rites observed at Jerusalem.

1 Kings xii. 32.

Notwithstanding the feast of Tabernacles was commanded to be annually celebrated, yet, which is very surprising, it was never observed, at least in the principal circumstance of dwelling in booths, from the time of Joshua, till after their return from Babylon in the days of Nehemiah, which was at least the space of a thousand years, and the most flourishing time of their commonwealth. Who (says Mr. Mede upon this occasion) would have thought but some David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah, or good Jehoiada, would in so long a time as a thousand years have reformed so great a neglect of God's commandment? But hear what the Holy Ghost says: *Since the days of Joshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so.*

P. 268.

Nehem. viii. 17.

CHAP. XXI.

The feast of ingathering.

THERE was something more designed in the institution of the feast of Tabernacles than merely the remembrance of their circumstances in the wilderness, which was to express their gratitude to God for their desired harvest, which they had now gathered; for at this time all their corn was threshed, and their vintage done, and other fruits got in; and now they offered their firstfruits and tithes of wine and oil, which was the oblation of that season, besides the remainders of their tithes of the floor or threshed corn. For this reason, besides the seven days which were in commemoration of their dwelling in tents, there was an eighth added, as an acknowledgment of the divine mercy for bestowing upon them the fruits of the earth. This day was a distinct solemnity; yet because it immediately followed the feast of Tabernacles, it has been always reckoned as the last day of that feast. CHAP. XXI. Exod. xxxiv. 22.

That this eighth day was a separate festival is evident from hence, that after the end of the seven preceding days they returned to their houses; for it is expressly said, *Ye shall dwell in booths seven days;* which being over, a great solemnity continued to another purpose, and was observed after another manner, not in booths, but in their houses. We go (says Maimonides) from the feast of Tabernacles to another solemnity upon the eighth day; it tends to make our joys perfect, which could not be done in tabernacles, but in large and spacious houses and palaces. This day therefore was kept with still greater festivity; no servile work was to More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 43.

BOOK IV. be done upon it, and praises were sung to God at the temple with trumpets and instruments of music. Upon this day they read the last section of the law, and likewise began the first, lest they should seem more joyful in ending their sections than willing to begin them. And in the divine service it is said that the three psalms were used which have the title of *al-hagittith*; for *gath* signifies a *wine-press*; and therefore they think that these psalms were sung in the time of the vintage. Certain it is that the two last of them were sung at some great solemnity, wherein they celebrated God's wonderful providence over them; and that they used to sing and shout at their vintage is evident in scripture beyond contradiction.

Psal. viii. lxxxi. lxxxiv.

Judg. ix. 27.

Now this being a time of so great rejoicing led Plutarch into a fancy that the Jews celebrated two feasts to the honour of Bacchus; for he writes in his Symposiacs, that in the midst of vintage the Jews spread tables furnished with all manner of fruit, and lived in tabernacles, made especially of palms and ivy wreathed together; and calls the day which goes before the feast *the day of tabernacles*. He goes on in derision of the Jews, and compares this festival with the drunken solemnity in honour of Bacchus, in which his votaries run up and down with javelins in their hands wrapped about with ivy, called *thyrsi*; and in this respect he calls this feast *a bearing of the thyrsi*. A few days after, says he, they keep another festivity, which openly shews it was dedicated to Bacchus; for they carried boughs of palms in their hands, with which they went into the temple, the Levites (so called, as he fancies, from Εὔιος, a name of Bacchus) going before with instru-

Lib. iv. Probl. 3.

Θυρσαφορίαν.

ments of music. All which may well incline us to think that the Gentiles corrupted this holy festival, (as they did other sacred institutions,) and turned it into the most profane bacchanalia, and the most abominable revellings. CHAP. XXI.

The Jewish writers in many places speak of this day as a feast by itself, and for very good reasons; for now they left their booths, and no longer carried their branches or citrons, but eat them, which they were not allowed to do before. There was no sacrifice of six bullocks, which ought to have been if this day had been joined to the preceding feast, but of one only. Upon this day was a peculiar song and benediction used, called *the royal blessing*, alluding to what is said, *Upon the eighth day Solomon sent the people away, and they blessed the king:* but they observed the same solemnities about the pouring out of water, as they did upon the days before. 1 Kings viii. 66.

This last day of the feast grew into such esteem in that nation, because upon the other seven days they thought that supplications and sacrifices were offered not so much for themselves as for the nations of the world, but the solemnities of the eighth day were wholly in the behalf of themselves; for thus they speak upon this subject: "The eighth day shall "be holy. Thou seest, O God, that Israel in the "feast of Tabernacles offers before thee seventy "bullocks for the seventy nations, for which they "ought to love us; but for our love they are our "adversaries. The holy blessed God therefore saith "to Israel, Offer for yourselves on the eighth day." Beniibdar rabba, sect. 21.

When the law of Moses mentions this festival of the eighth day, there is a precept annexed, which obliges them not to gather their grapes and fruits Lev. xix. 10.

BOOK IV. clean. When they had cut off the great bunches, they were not to examine the vine over again for the scattered grapes or small clusters; and if a bunch or two fell to the ground as they gathered them, they were not to take them up. They were bound, say the Jews, to leave the corners of the vineyard uncut, as well as the corners of the field. And these precepts obliged such strangers as sojourned among them, who, before they were admitted to embrace the Jewish religion, were examined whether they understood that they must observe such and such precepts, particularly these here mentioned, which were propounded to them plainly and distinctly; and after they had promised to keep them, they were admitted to be circumcised. The breach of these laws was punished by scourging.

CHAP. XXII.

The sabbatical year.

AS every seventh day was a sabbath day, so every seventh year was a festival, and a sabbatical year: and as the sabbath day signified that they themselves were the Lord's, and therefore they abstained from their own work to do his; so the sabbatical year implied that both they and their lands belonged to God, and were at his disposal. The observation of this festival consisted chiefly in two things; the first, in the not tilling or manuring their ground, whence it was called *the sabbath of the land;* the second, in the creditors discharging their debtors, and releasing their debts, whence it obtained the name of *the Lord's release.*

Lev. xxv. 6. Deut. xv. 2.

By this law every seventh year became sacred, and no man could challenge any right or propriety in it. But it seems difficult to determine when this year was to begin, whether in the month of Tisri, which answers in some sort to our September, and was the ancient beginning of the year; or in Nisan, answering to our March, which was made a new beginning of it by an express law; the former still continuing the beginning of the year for civil things, as this for sacred. Now there is great reason to think that this sabbatical year was to commence from September, when all their harvest was over, which began in March. Then they were not to sow, as they were used to do in October and the following months, but to stay till this return of the season the next year; for if this year had been to begin in March, they could not have reaped the harvest of the sixth year. CHAP. XXII.

The rest of this sabbatical year consisted (as the law speaks) in not sowing their fields, nor pruning their vineyards; which prohibition includes all other things that were usually done about their fields or trees. And though a vineyard be only mentioned, yet it is certain that oliveyards are comprehended; and these are mentioned only as examples of all other fruit trees, which were to be left in common as these were. Maimonides is very curious in what he observes upon this subject: for inquiring why Moses mentions only these two things, sowing and pruning, his resolution is, that for these two, if men offended concerning them in this year, they were punished by scourging not exceeding thirty-nine stripes; but if they were guilty of any other sort of labours relating to the culture of the fields, or of Lev. xxv. 4. Exod. xxiii. 10.

BOOK IV. trees, (as if a man digged or ploughed his ground, if he planted trees, or grafted,) he was punished for his contumacy and rebellion by stripes without number or measure. He adds further, that it was not lawful in the seventh year to plant any tree, though it was not a fruit tree, nor to cut off the dead branches, nor to make a smoke under them to kill the worms, nor to anoint young plants to preserve them from the biting of birds; if they did, they were liable to scourging without number. So very nice he is, as to say it was unlawful to sell to any man any instrument of husbandry in this year, as a plough, a yoke, or a sieve; yet he allows, that when they are under the oppression of the Gentiles, and bound to find provision for their armies, they might sow so much as would conveniently support them.

If any corn sprung up from the seed scattered the last harvest, or from the old root, which sprouted out again, they were obliged not to reap it, that is, say the Jews, not to gather it into cocks, or to tread out the grain with oxen; (if any did, they were scourged with thirty-nine stripes;) but they were allowed to cut down a little in common with other persons, to shake it out, and to eat it. The same rule they were to observe in managing their vineyards and fruit trees: so that the prohibition in the law is not to be understood absolutely, but only that they should not look upon any thing that grew this year as peculiarly theirs, because it grew in their ground, but all was to be in common. The owner therefore and his family were not forbidden to take their share, but might gather for their daily use as well as others, only not to lay up any thing separate for themselves.

The increase of this sabbatical year was allowed to be in common to the beasts; but it seems probable that wild beasts might be driven out of their fields and vineyards in this year as well as others, because they made such waste as would have very much damaged the owner for the future. As for tame creatures, the Jews were so superstitiously careful they should have an equal share with themselves, that when there was no fruit any longer for the beasts in the field, they ceased to eat what they had gathered for their own use, and if they had any thing of it left, threw it out of their houses. If a Gentile hired land in the country, he was not obliged to this sabbatical rest. There is nothing said of gardens in this law; and therefore it seems that every one kept them up for his own private service, and was not bound to lay them in common. CHAP. XXII.

"This consecration," says Mr. Mede, "being as much as the foregoing of the seventh part of every man's profits, the covetous Jews for many years neglected the observation thereof; for which sin the Lord, as himself professeth, caused them to be carried captive, and the land to be waste seventy years without inhabitant, till it had fulfilled the years of sabbath which they observed not. For their idolatry he gave them into the hands of the Gentiles their enemies; for their sabbatical sacrilege he added this unto it, that they should, beside their bondage, be carried captives into a strange country, and their land lie desolate seventy years." Disc. xxvii. p. 123.

Another privilege of the sabbatical year was a public discharge of debts, by which the insolvent debtor was released from all obligation to his cre- Deut. xv. 1.

BOOK IV. ditors, and delivered from all apprehension of imprisonment: and this provision was made, lest the poor Hebrew should be tempted to fly to the Gentiles, and forsake his religion; or forced to go a begging, and seek for relief in strange countries. It was an entire and full discharge, not of debts contracted by sale of lands or goods to such as were able to pay, but of money lent to a neighbour or friend, merely to relieve his poverty, not to carry on trade, or to make a purchase; for nothing would have been more absurd than to have extinguished the claim of such debts, by which the borrower was sure to be enriched. None but Israelites, or proselytes of righteousness, were entitled to this benefit of release; for they had liberty to make a foreigner, and a proselyte of the gate, to pay their debts.

At the end of every sabbatical year, upon the feast of Tabernacles, the supreme governor of the nation was obliged to read the law of Moses publicly before all the people; for when the minds of men were freed from cares by the release of their debts, it was supposed that the hearing of it would make the greater impression upon them.

Deut. xxxi. 10.

Mr. Mede is of opinion, that in every seventh year all Hebrew servants were to obtain their liberty; but this (under correction) seems to be a mistake: for though it be said, that if a servant serve six years, *in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free;* yet it is not meant of the year of release, as if he were then to have his freedom, though he had served but one year, or perhaps no more than half a year before that came, but of the seventh year from the time of his sale, or the beginning of his servitude; for he was to serve six

Deut. xv. 12.

complete years, unless the jubilee happened to intervene, when every one, what time soever he had served, was absolutely to be set free.

The reason of the institution of this festival was principally to instruct the people in the duty of depending upon divine Providence; and this solemnity, as some conjecture, was a shadow of that everlasting sabbath expected in the heavens. And this is supposed to be the foundation of the opinion of a learned rabbi, who asserts that the world should continue for six thousand years, but the seventh thousand should be the great sabbatical year; the six thousand answering to the six working days of the week, and the seventh to the sabbath. His words are, "Six thousand years the world shall be, "and again it shall be destroyed: two thousand "shall be void, two thousand under the law, and "two thousand under the Messias." The substance of this prediction is certainly to be rejected as too curious; yet since it was delivered by a Jew, it may serve to prove against them, that the Messias is already come, and that the law of Moses ceased at his coming.

Hospin. de origine hujus festi.

Talmud. in Sanhedrin. c. Helc.

I shall conclude this chapter with what Cunæus observes upon this subject: "Such," says he, "were "the laws given to the Hebrews, all whose wealth "lay in the fields, according to the increase of which "they were either in want or in abundance. Hence "it was, that when foreign kings imposed tribute "upon them, every seventh year brought them into "so great difficulties, that they were hardly able to "raise the sum; for the law would not permit them "to till the ground that year, and to gather in the "fruits of it, which yielded all their money. Alex-

De Repub. Hebræorum, lib. i. c. 4.

BOOK IV. "ander of Macedonia, having learnt at Jerusalem "out of Daniel's book that a Grecian should over- "throw the Persian empire, rejoiced at this pro- "phecy, and commanded the Jews to ask some "royal favour of him. They answered, no greater "benefit could be done them than the remission of "the seventh year's tribute. It was granted. The "Samaritans, when they said much for themselves "to obtain the same indulgence, were absolutely "denied."

CHAP. XXIII.

The jubilee.

Lev. xxv. 8, &c. THE last festival prescribed by the law of Moses was the jubilee, appointed to be celebrated after seven sabbaths of years, which computed together make forty-nine. They began their first account from the fourteenth year after their entrance into Canaan; for they were seven years in conquering the land, and seven more were employed in the division of it: so that the first sabbatical year was in the one and twentieth, and the first jubilee in the sixty-fourth year after they came into the land of promise. They numbered seventeen jubilees from that time to their captivity in Babylon, which fell out in the end of a sabbatical year, and the thirty-sixth of the jubilee. And here it may be observed, that as the Grecians reckoned their times by the number of Olympiads, the Romans by their Lustra, the Christians by their Indictions; so the Jews computed by their Jubilees.

The law expressly enjoins that the jubilee shall be the fiftieth year; but it is disputed whether this

festival was the year following the forty-ninth, or the forty-ninth year was the jubilee, which, reckoning the foregoing jubilee for one, was the fiftieth year. Many learned men are of this last opinion, particularly Cunæus, whose words are these: "The "Agrarian law made by Moses, concerning the re- "stitution of possessions, was observed with great "religion till the desolation of the former sanctuary "by the Assyrians." After that Palestine lay forsaken and untilled for the space of seventy years, as the prophets foretold. But when at length that fatal time had expired, the Jews indeed returned to their ancient habitations, and the temple was built anew; but never was the Agrarian law revived, nor the jubilee solemnities celebrated any more. No more now did every fiftieth year give liberty to servants, nor restore unto the former lords their lost and sold possessions. Whether justly the fiftieth year or the forty-ninth was the year of jubilee is made a question. We join with those incomparable men of our time that hold the forty-ninth; nor can we assent to Maimonides in this, though for the most we religiously embrace his judgment; for this author has recompensed us for his few and little errors with many great virtues and very choice observations every where. It is observed by this writer, that as to the intermission of agriculture, there is the same reason for the jubilee, and every seventh year, (for the land was to rest in the year of jubilee.) But now if the fiftieth year exactly were the jubilee, two sabbatical years (for the forty-ninth is sabbatical) would without intermission have been celebrated together: a singular, strange, and unusual thing! for whereas Providence had so

CHAP. XXIII.

Lib. i. c. 6.

BOOK IV. ordained that every sixth year in Palestine, by its exceeding fruitfulness, should prevent the famine of the seventh, being the year of rest to the fields, there must now be a more miraculous fruitfulness if two years of rest should come together, in neither of which it was lawful to plough or sow. Therefore the divine bounty expressed in this manner, *I will send my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth the fruits of three years,* must be enlarged to serve for four years, the forty-ninth and fiftieth being for divers reasons both sabbatical. No such fruitfulness was ever granted to any other land or nation; and since none of the prophets have given testimony to so great a miracle, nor any histories have made any record of it, we must not by too easy a credulity give into it.

In answer to this argument the defenders of the contrary opinion observe, that if the forty-ninth (which is sabbatical) were the year of jubilee, it would likewise be a year of remission of debts, which the Jews absolutely deny. "In this," says Maimonides, "the sabbatical year excels the jubilee, that it remits debts, which the jubilee does "not. But the jubilee in this excels the sabbatical "year, that it sets servants free, and restores possessions, which the other does not. And the jubilee likewise restores possessions in the very beginning of the year; but the sabbatical year does "not release debts till it be ended."

Schemitta ve jobel, cap. 10.

So many are the opinions concerning the reason why this year is called *jubilee*, or in the Hebrew, *jobel*, that it is difficult to know which to follow: Josephus says it signifies *liberty;* Aquila, and the Seventy, translate it *remission*, having a regard to

the thing, rather than to the import of the word *jobel*, which never signifies any thing of that nature: Kimchi tells us, that rabbi Akiba, when he was in Arabia, heard them call a ram by this name of *jobel;* and thence some conceive that this year was so called, because it was proclaimed with trumpets of rams' horns. But what if there were no such trumpets, as learned men have imagined, those horns not being hollow? The most probable conjecture is, that the year was called *jobel* from the peculiar sound which was made with the trumpet when this year was proclaimed; for the trumpet blowing for several purposes, to convene their assemblies, to give notice of the moving of their camps, to excite the soldiers to fight, and to proclaim this year, there was a distinct sound for all these ends, that people might not be confounded, but have a certain notice what the trumpet sounded for. And this sound was particularly called *jobel;* and when the word is used absolutely and by itself, it signifies this year of *jubilee*, which was called *jobel*, from the sound made by the trumpet; as the feast of unleavened bread was called *pesach*, from the angel's passing over the Israelites when he slew the Egyptians.

There were two uses to which this year of jubilee was peculiarly dedicated, the manumission of servants, and the restitution of men to their ancient possessions. To give proper notice of these privileges, the sanhedrim were obliged, upon the tenth day of the seventh month, the great day of expiation, to proclaim liberty by the sound of trumpets; and this was to be done in all the public highways, that these immunities might be known through the

BOOK IV. whole nation. And now all servants that were Israelites, who were sold into servitude by themselves, by their fathers, or by the court of judgment, obtained their freedom, and returned again to their own family. Servants were not absolutely freed till the tenth day of the month Tisri; but for the nine days before they did but little work; for they spent their time in feasts and diversions, and wore garlands upon their heads, in prospect of their approaching liberty.

But the most remarkable privilege of this year was a free return of houses and possessions to the rightful owners, which poverty had obliged them to sell. Upon this account they preserved a distinct knowledge of their several tribes and families to which they belonged, for which end their genealogies were of necessity to be carefully kept, that they might be able to prove their right to the inheritance of their ancestors. By this means the estates of the Israelites were so fixed, that no family could ruin itself, or grow too rich; for this law provided against such changes, revoking once in fifty years all alienations, and setting every one in the same condition wherein they were at first. All estates were now to return to their first owners, or their heirs, though they had changed possessors a hundred times by being so often sold. And the same law held in donations as well as in sales, as Maimonides observes. Yet this is to be understood only of absolute alienations without any mention of time; for if any man sold without fraud an estate to his neighbour for sixty years, it was not to return to him or his heirs in the year of jubilee, which came before the expiration of that term; for

in the jubilee, says he, nothing returns but that which was sold for ever. This Agrarian law was so famous, that the heathens themselves took notice of it; insomuch that Diodorus Siculus says, that it was not lawful for the Jews to sell their own inheritances, meaning, as Mr. Selden expounds it, to sell them absolutely so as to alienate them for ever from their families. CHAP. XXIII. Lib. xi. de Success. ad Leges Hebr. c. 14.

Moses, in expressing the method of sale, took care that the rich should not oppress the poor, by giving less for land than it was worth, nor the poor require more for it than its just value till the year of jubilee. The Hebrew doctors have formed a general rule in this matter; that if a man bought any thing for a sixth part less than its worth, or sold it for a sixth part more than its worth, he was obliged to restore the sixth part; but he was not bound to make restitution if it fell short of a sixth part wherein he had wronged his neighbour. But if the difference was more than a sixth part, the buyer might rescind his contract, if the bargain was not quite finished, and require his money again. And the seller, if the damage was on his side, might at any time require the thing to be returned to him at the price for which he sold it.

The practice, as commanded by the law, was to consider how many years were gone since the last jubilee, and then to purchase the profits of the remaining years till the next. The seller was to observe that in every sixth year there was no fruit, and therefore for those he was to demand nothing. The price was to rise or fall according as there were more or few years before the next jubilee: for example, says Maimonides, if there be ten years to

BOOK IV. the jubilee, and a man buy another's field for an hundred pence, after which the buyer having enjoyed it three years, the seller has a mind to redeem it, he must then give to him that bought it of him seventy pence: so likewise if the buyer has enjoyed it six years, the seller must give him forty pence. No man was allowed to sell his house or his field till the time of jubilee, unless poverty compelled him to it; for it was not lawful to sell it to lay up the price of it in his coffer, or exercise merchandise, or buy goods, servants, or cattle; but only to procure necessary provision with it: but if a man transgressed, and employed the money otherwise, the sale notwithstanding was held to be good.

If a man, whose poverty forced him to sell his land, grew afterwards so rich that he was able to redeem it before the year of jubilee, the law provided that he should be allowed to do it, and the buyer could not refuse it. But then this was to be done honestly and truly; he was not to borrow money to redeem it, nor to sell other land to redeem that which he had sold before, which they looked upon as a fraud to the buyer. Therefore he had this right only in case he was grown rich since the sale; otherwise he was to stay till the year of jubilee, when it returned to him for nothing. There was a further enlargement of this liberty, that if any of his near relations would redeem the land he had sold, (though he was not able to do it himself,) it should be allowed. Hebrew servants sold to strangers, or into the family of proselytes, had this privilege of redemption: they might buy out their freedom themselves, if they

were able; or any of their family, if they pleased, might redeem them, and the master could not detain them. The rule was, to compute how long a servant had served, and how long he had still to serve, and what price was paid for him; and then according to the number of years gone and to come he was to make his demands. If he had served but few years, and there were many to come before the jubilee, then less was to be deducted from what his master gave for him, and the price of his redemption was higher: but if there remained but few years, less was to be given for his redemption; because he had been a long time in his master's service. By this it appears that these kind of servants received no benefit from the seventh year of release, as Hebrew servants who served Hebrew masters did.

The form of redeeming land was thus: they counted how many years were gone since the sale, and if there remained just so many more to the jubilee, then the seller paid the buyer half the price at which he purchased it for its redemption. But if the number of years from the sale to the jubilee were not equal, then he deducted proportionable to the years he had enjoyed it since the purchase, and gave him as much as the years remaining till the jubilee were worth. And if he sold a field at first for a hundred pound, suppose, and he that bought it sold it to another for two hundred, he was to redeem it according to what was first given for it; because the law says, he shall restore the overplus to the man to whom he sold it. So likewise if a man sold a field for a hundred pounds, which in the hands of the buyer so improved that it might

BOOK IV. be sold for two hundred, the redemption was to be according to what was first paid for it. But if he sold it for two hundred pounds, and it was grown so much worse that it was worth but a hundred, it was to be esteemed in the redemption according to the present value: and the reason is, say the Jews, because the condition of him who sold his inheritance was always to be made better, but the circumstances of the purchaser to be made worse.

The law concerning the sale and redemption of houses was different: houses within walled cities, if they were not redeemed within a year after the sale, were alienated for ever, and the jubilee would not restore them. But the seller, if he pleased, might redeem his house the next day after it was sold, paying the full price that was given for it. And if he that sold it was dead, his son might redeem it; or if he that bought it was dead, it might be redeemed from his son, if done within the year. But his kindred could not redeem it, nor might he borrow money to redeem it, nor redeem it by parcels; but, say the Jews, he might sell some of his goods to redeem it. If the jubilee fell out in the year of sale, it did not restore the house to the seller, but it continued his that bought it, unless it was redeemed within a year from the day it was sold. The reason of this law seems to be, either that cities might be the better filled with inhabitants who were invited thither when they had hopes of a settlement, or that proselytes, who were not of the Hebrew nation, and could have no fields or vineyards, might yet have something of their own stable and certain, and not be forced always to want a perpetual possession. Houses in the villages that

were unwalled might be redeemed at any time, and if they were not, returned to their first owners at the jubilee.

The houses of the Levites that were in any of the forty-eight cities assigned them, if they were sold, were excepted from the preceding law concerning houses in walled cities. These, if not redeemed before, returned to that tribe at the jubilee. If the Levites purchased houses in any other cities, they were subject to the same law with other men: insomuch that a Levite, who was heir to his mother an Israelite, was to redeem as other Israelites did, and not after the manner of the Levites; for the Levites had a right different from other men only in the cities of their possessions. But if an Israelite was heir to his mother a Levite, he redeemed as the Levites did, though he were not of that tribe; because, say the Jews, the right of that redemption was tied to the places, and not to the persons. The Levites had no power to sell their fields that were in the suburbs of their cities: if any man bought them, the bargain was immediately void; for those fields were common to the whole body of the Levites, who would have been undone if they had wanted pasture for their flocks, which were all their substance.

The privileges of this great festival are fully and concisely explained by Cunæus in his learned treatise of the Hebrew Republic, which, as it is a recapitulation of what has been said upon this subject, may properly be inserted in this place. "Moses, as it became a wise man not only to order things at present, but for ages to come, introduced a certain law, providing that the wealth of some might

Lib. i. c. 2.

BOOK IV. " not tend to the oppression of the rest, nor the
" people change their course and turn their minds
" from their innocent labours to any new and
" strange employment. This was the Agrarian law;
" a law, whereby all possessors of land were kept
" from transferring the full right and dominion of
" it unto any other person, by sale, or other con-
" tract whatsoever; for both they, that upon con-
" straint of poverty had sold their land, had a right
" granted to redeem it at any time, and they that
" did not redeem it received it freely again by this
Cap. 4. " law at the solemn feast of jubilee. Aristotle re-
" cites some edicts framed by most ancient law-
" givers coming very nigh to the Mosaical. Oxylus
" king of the Elians prohibited lands to be mort-
" gaged for money, and the Locrians were not per-
" mitted to sell the inheritances of their fathers.
" Maimonides was a great writer, and has with ex-
" cellent judgment collected all the Talmudical doc-
" trine, except the trifles; an author above our
" highest commendation, the only man of that na-
" tion who had the good fortune to understand
" what it is to write seriously and to the pur-
" pose: we shall often make use of his authority,
" and now it will help us out in the matter we
" have in hand. He is much upon the benefit of the
" jubilee, consisting, says he, herein, that all lands
" returned to their ancient lords, though they had
" passed through the hands of a hundred buyers.
" Neither are excepted by this most learned writer
" the lands which came to any one by donation.
" These could no more than the other be retained
" from the first possessor; it is a point of the Tal-
" mudical law, and I make no question but it is

" very right. The same rabbin, from the same
" fountain, declares that redemption was permitted
" only to such as were recovered from their po-
" verty, and enabled by some gain or commodity
" that had befallen them. The reason is plain; for
" to borrow money, or to sell one piece of land to
" redeem another, was to frustrate the law that ap-
" pointed the unable, and their heirs, to wait for
" the relief of the jubilee. Yet might the kinsmen
" of the necessitous in the mean time buy off for
" their money what the poor owner, without bor-
" rowing, could not. These jubilee solemnities re-
" turned every fiftieth year, beginning at the se-
" venth month Tisri. No other time brought with
" it so much public joy; for besides the repossession
" of lands that had been alienated, liberty was pro-
" claimed to all servants. Yet nothing was done
" before the tenth of that month, the holy fast of
" expiation. The nine preceding days were all spent
" in public mirth and feasting, like the Roman Sa-
" turnalia. Hear how Maimonides relates it, 'From
" the beginning of the year to the day of expiation
" neither were the servants dismissed, nor did they
" serve their masters. What then? The servants
" did eat and drink and make merry, and set a
" crown upon their head. After, when the day of
" expiation was come, the senators of the sanhedrim
" sounded with their trumpets, and immediately the
" servants went away free, and the old lords took
" repossession of their lands.'"

CHAP. XXIV.

The feast of lots; the feast of lights; the feast of wood-carrying.

BOOK IV. THERE were other festivals observed by the discipline of the Jewish church, than what were ordained by the Mosaic law; for the civil government, when any public deliverance befell the nation, thought that they had a power (if they pleased to use it) to appoint solemn feasts to be annually celebrated in commemoration of them. But the exercise of this authority was at first strenuously opposed; for it is said that eighty-five elders, above thirty of which were prophets, made their exceptions against the feast of Purim, ordained by Esther and Mordecai, as some kind of innovation against the law.

Hierosol. Megillah. fol. 70. 4.

Esth. iii. 7.

This festival was observed for two days, upon the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month Adar, and was called *Purim*, which signifies *lots* in the Persian language; because Haman cast lots for many days to find out one that would prove most unfortunate to the Jewish nation. During the continuance of this feast the book of Esther was solemnly read in their synagogues from beginning to the end; and when the name of Haman was mentioned, the very children were taught to beat upon the benches, and stamp with as much joy as if they had the head of Haman under their feet. They would write his name upon a stone, and set it up before them; and as often as it was repeated, they would batter it

with stones till it was quite defaced, crying out, "Let "his name be blotted out and accursed for ever." CHAP. XXIV.

The celebration of this feast was the bacchanals of the Jews, which they distinguished with the most extravagant mirth and jollity: some put on fools' coats, and raked like pickled herrings about the streets, and danced in the very synagogues while the book of Esther was reading. Others disguised themselves in strange antic dresses, men in the habit of women, and women dressed like men, with their faces disfigured. Thus, without shame or modesty, they entertained one another with the most obscene raillery, made horrid mixtures, and committed all manner of debauchery and licentiousness: so that the fashionable gallantry of masquerading proves at last to be of Jewish extraction. For the two days of this feast they indulged themselves in the utmost luxury, especially in extravagant drinking and carousing. This they did in memory of the banquet of wine that made the king merry, and disposed him in favour of the Jews; and they think themselves bound upon this occasion to banish all appearance of sobriety; for it is said expressly in the Talmud, that a man is obliged to be so drunk upon the feast of Purim, that he is not able to distinguish between the name of the cursed Haman and the blessed Mordecai.

Leusden. Philol. Hebræo-mixtus de Fest. Pur. Buxtorf. Synag. cap. 29.

Tract. Megillah. fol. 7. 2.

When the year consisted of thirteen months this feast was observed twice, once in the month Adar, according to its first appointment, and again in the next month called Ve-Adar.

Another feast of human institution was the feast of lights, or of dedication. The occasion and the ceremonies of this solemnity have been mentioned

Vol. i. book iii. p. 468.

BOOK IV. before. It will be sufficient in this place to repeat, that this festivity was appointed in memory of the deliverance the Jews received from the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, who had forced idolatry upon them, and set up the idol of Jupiter in the temple. They were seized, says Josephus, with such infinite pleasure in the restoration of their sacred rites, being after so long a time so unexpectedly possessed of their religion again, that they bound it by a law to posterity that they should celebrate the restitution of their worship by a feast of eight days' continuance.

Antiq. lib. xii. c. 11.

It was called *the feast of lights*, from the ceremony of lighting candles, which they were so superstitiously fond of, that in what country soever a man was, he was obliged to observe this ceremony. The precept, says Maimonides, about the lights in the feast of Dedication is very commendable; and it is necessary for every one to stir up his memory in this matter, that he might make known the great miracle, and contribute towards the praises of God, and the acknowledgment of those wonders he does among us. If a man has not wherewithal to eat, unless of mere alms, let him beg, or sell his garments, to buy oil and lights for this feast. If he has only one single farthing, and should be in suspense whether he should spend it in consecrating the day, or in setting up lights, let him rather lay it out in oil for the candles than in wine for the consecration of the day; for whereas they are both the prescription of the scribes, it were better to give the lights of the *encœnia* the preference; because by this means you keep up the remembrance of the miracle. Now this miracle was the multiplication

Rosh. hashanah. fol. 18.

of the oil, and has been explained in another part of these Antiquities.

Josephus speaks of a feast observed with great solemnity by the Jews, called *the feast of wood-carrying*, for continuing the sacred fire upon the altar. The Jews observe, that the divine Providence so ordered it, that the most violent rains never put the fire out. However, they provided for its continual burning, by fixing the penalty of whipping upon him that should extinguish it, and by a constant supply of wood for the maintaining of it. It was, says the author above, a feast of the wood-carrying, at which it was the custom for all to bring up wood for the altar, that it might not want fuel for the fire that was never to go out. De Bell. lib ii. cap. 31.

The Talmud appoints nine particular days for this solemn employment; and when the wood was brought to the temple, it was laid up in the wood-room, and wormed by the priests uncapable of serving at the altar. What was free from worms was laid up in another wood-room, and what was worm-eaten was used either for boiling, baking, or frying the offerings that were boiled, baked, or fried, or for keeping fires for the priests and Levites in their attendance and keeping guard in cold weather.

There are some other feasts to be found in the Jewish calendar; one, for instance, in memory of Jephthah's sacrificing his daughter, another in honour of Judith's victory over Holofernes, and one or two more: but being of so small account, they have scarce a right to be so much as mentioned in this place.

THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF

THE HEBREW REPUBLIC.

THE PREFACE.

I HAVE nothing to offer in defence of the two volumes that follow, but that my first inquiries into the Antiquities of the Hebrews were received with that favour, which gave me sufficient encouragement to pursue the work [a]; and I have (I thank God) finished it with this satisfaction to myself, that I have done my utmost to do justice to a subject so divine and useful, and have endeavoured to recommend the study of the holy scriptures, which without exception must be acceptable to all persons who have a due esteem either for true learning or piety. Those who value the former, and are well acquainted with it, will readily give their suffrage here, and proclaim to the world that scripture learning exceeds all others; that the original of most arts and sciences is to be derived hence, and that a library without the Bible is an imperfect thing. And such as have a sense of the latter, will be as forward to assert the preeminence of these writings; for here is the source of all religion, and no man can be devout and pious, who is a stranger to them. How meanly soever I have performed this task, I believe verily that some who turn over these pages will from them be inspired with a proper regard and reverence, with an entire love and veneration of the holy writ, and be persuaded to converse more intimately with it themselves, and encourage others to follow their example. This would, in a short time, make a great change in the world, and the Bible itself would be read in

[a] The work was originally published in four volumes: the first and second appeared in 1724, comprising Vol. I. and Vol. II. p. 1—203. of this edition, the third and fourth in 1725, making the remainder of this edition.

the lives and behaviour of mankind. The understanding of the scriptures would be esteemed the highest accomplishment; and though many refinements have been attempted in philosophy and religion, it would appear evidently that the sacred volume was alone sufficient for us, if all the books and libraries in the world were destroyed.

What is now published is divided into four books: the first contains the history of the false worships, or idolatry of the Jews, a subject very curious, and that comprehends great variety of matter; wherein many learned men have been employed among foreigners, as well as in our own nation. The great Mr. Selden has written an excellent tract upon the Syrian gods, and Gerard Vossius has a large work upon Idolatry, which I conceive would have been a much better piece, had the author thought fit to intermix less of philosophy with the rest. My business has been to avoid the errors of others, but especially to go in search after truth; and the nearest resemblance to truth, with all possible precaution. I greatly reverence the labours of learned men, and consider them as fathers and teachers, from whom I have freely borrowed whatever served my designs; notwithstanding which, I judge it possible to extend our discoveries further; for in matters of this nature, the most learned are not always the most successful, and in conjectures, a certain quickness and penetration are at least as necessary as learning. As therefore I have always been forward to receive instructions from others, so I have been sometimes obliged in particular passages to make use of my own conjectures, where I conceived the ancient opinions could not take place.

The second book principally treats of the ceremonial and judicial laws. It may seem, perhaps, that this part might have been finished with much more ease than the former, because of the assistance that might have been expected from the books of Moses, not to speak of the observations of modern authors; and the commentaries and

glosses of the Talmudists, who have made this point the chief foundation of their religion and learning. But I certainly found as much trouble in this, as in any other part of the work; for to separate and digest those laws under their proper heads, to examine the sentiments of expositors among Jews and Christians, and to discover the appearance of truth among such variety of opinions, was really difficult and laborious.

The arts and sciences, practised and studied by the Hebrews, are chiefly included in the third book. This indeed was an unbeaten road, never, that I know of, attempted wholly by one writer, though for what I have collected I am obliged to many eminent authors, who have professedly treated of the Antiquities of the Jewish nation. Perhaps this part of the work may not afford equal delight with the other books; but I was resolved, as far as I was able, to exhaust the subject, and am satisfied that my endeavours in this place will be of use to younger students in sacred learning, and candidates in theology; though I can promise no great advantage to proficients, who are of a higher character.

I have inquired in the fourth book into the canon of the holy scriptures, which contain the whole system of the Jewish religion; and have offered to evince the truth and certainty of those writings to the unbelieving part of mankind. I have laid down the several divisions and orders, wherein the books of the Old Testament were ranged by the Jewish church; have given an account of the authors that compiled them, and of the language wherein they were written. The design of the atheism and infidelity which now reigns, is to strike at the genuineness and authority of these scriptures; for as long as the Bible is looked upon as the word of God, and of divine inspiration, it will be a lasting testimony against the principles of these apostates; who, if they demand a present miracle to confirm their faith, may only behold the people of the Jews for more

than sixteen hundred years, wandering and dispersed into all corners of the earth, despised, hated, and persecuted by all nations; and though mingled and confounded with them, still distinguished in their laws, customs, and religion, remaining a standing evidence of divine vengeance upon unbelief, and an indelible monument of the truth of Christianity.

THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HEBREW REPUBLIC.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The rise and ceremonies of idolatry among the Hebrews.

BEFORE the destruction of the first temple by the Babylonians, the Hebrew nation was often overrun by idolatry, but it was scarce so much as heard of after their return from the captivity, though it was succeeded by a more pernicious practice, which was a violent and superstitious zeal for their corrupt traditions. Before the captivity they had no synagogues for public worship, no places to resort to for instruction, unless the tabernacle, the proseuchas, the temple, the cities of the Levites, or the schools of the prophets, and therefore through ignorance they were easily seduced into the idolatrous usages of the neighbouring nations; but when they were recalled from Babylon they had synagogues erected in every city, where the law was constantly read, and from the time of the persecution by Antiochus they had the writings of the prophets deli-

BOOK V. vered and explained to them, by which means they were secured from mistaking the proper object of their worship, and continued in a commendable obedience to the institutions of Moses.

So various are the thoughts of commentators concerning the beginning of idolatry, that it is difficult to fix the time when it first appeared. Maimonides gives this account; (which is likewise followed by many learned Christians;) that in the days of Moses, men began to consider that God created the stars, and the host of heaven to govern the world, therefore they built temples and offered sacrifices to them; and Enos himself was concerned in this delusion. And this opinion is defended by a passage in scripture, where it is said, *To Seth there was born a son; and they called his name Enos: then began men to call upon the name of the Lord:* which remark of Moses is expounded by Mr. Selden to signify, then was there profanation by invoking the name of the Lord; for the word which we translate *began,* in another place of scripture signifies *profaned,* so that by this construction the meaning is, that the most holy name which belongeth to the Creator and Possessor of heaven and earth was now impiously given unto creatures; but this interpretation is opposed with much judgment by expositors of note, who either content themselves with the marginal translation in our Bibles, *then men began to call themselves by the name of the Lord,* in distinction from the posterity of Cain, or else imagined that God was now first called upon by the name of Jehovah, or that some improvements were made in the offices of religion; for the Arabian Christians represent this Enos as an excellent go-

Tract. de Idol. c. 1.

Gen. iv. 26.

De Dis Syris, Prolegom. 3.

Levit. ix 12.

vernor, who, while he lived, preserved his family in good order, and when he died called them all together, and gave them a charge to keep God's commands, and not to have any correspondence with the children of Cain, who had vilely corrupted themselves upon the earth. CHAP. I.

It is certain that Terah, the father of Abraham, was an idolater, and, as Suidas asserts, was a statuary, and a maker of images, which he declared to be gods; and Abraham himself, as most imagine, was educated in the same idolatry; and, according to Maimonides, was converted to the worship of the Creator in the forty-eighth year of his age. In Egypt the Israelites were corrupted in their religion, and in the wilderness they prostituted themselves to the worship of images; under the government of Joshua they privately served strange gods, and under the judges, by their familiarity and intermarriages with the people of Canaan, they publicly adored the gods of Syria and Palestine, and the neighbouring countries, whom they never wholly abandoned till their city and temple were destroyed by the Chaldeans. Josh. xxiv. 2. Ezek. xx. 7, 8.

Many and different were the ceremonies made use of in the exercise of idolatry: there was bowing the knee, and prostration; and kissing the idol was likewise an act of worship. This rite was performed several ways, either by applying their mouth immediately to the image, (as Cicero against Verres relates of the image of Hercules,) or kissing their hand before the image, and then stretching it out, as it were, throwing the kiss to it, or by kissing the right hand, and sometimes the feet of the image itself. Incense was burnt, and sacrifices offered to 1 Kings xix. 18. In Verr. lib. v.

BOOK V. these false gods; and the worshippers would partake of those sacrifical feasts in token of their communion with the deity to whom the victim was offered, and these festivities were usually attended with drunkenness and horrid debaucheries; for nothing enticed men to idolatry more than those filthy pleasures that were a part of that worship: these federal entertainments were always attended with music and dancing, and other expressions of joy; and sometimes a table was furnished with choicest provision, and set before the idol itself.

Ezek. viii. 17. There is an idolatrous rite mentioned by Ezekiel, called, *the putting the branch to the nose*, which has given great trouble to learned men; but the most reasonable exposition is, that the worshipper, with a wand in his hand, would touch the idol, and then apply the stick to his nose and mouth, in token of worship and adoration.

It was an ancient custom for women to prostitute their bodies in honour of Venus and Priapus, and such filthy deities; and they were solemnly consecrated to such impure services. And this idolatry was practised in the days of Moses, as appears from the history of those who committed fornication with the daughters of Moab, who exposed themselves in veneration to Baal Peor. Those consecrated whores were famous in old times among the Phœnicians, Babylonians, and other nations: and Strabo relates, that at Corinth there was a temple so richly endowed that it maintained above a thousand of these religious prostitutes, who were dedicated to the goddess for the use of seafaring men, who arrived in great numbers at this port, and easily parted with their money.

Geograph. lib. viii.

The law of Moses has provided, that no man should prostitute his daughter to cause her to be a whore, which injunction without doubt forbids the exposing their daughters as a piece of religion to the service of such filthy deities, as were worshipped in these days by acts of uncleanness in their temples; for it is scarce to be supposed, that any man would prostitute his daughter to be a common strumpet, though he might possibly overlook the lewdness to which she had given up herself. What the rabbins make of these words, that a man prostitutes his daughter, who did not provide her an husband when she was marriageable, or married her to an old man, is a fanciful interpretation, and not to be admitted. If such a harlot should presume to offer to God what she had gotten by this kind of prostitution, it was not to be received, but refused as abominable; for this was a custom among the idolatrous nations, as appears by a great many of their writers, who record, that they were used to dedicate some part of what they received, for the use of their bodies, at the temple of their pretended deities; particularly Herodotus mentions it, as practised among the ancient Babylonians. CHAP. I. Deut. xxi. 18. Lev. xix. 29. Lib. i.

There is another prohibition following this, which forbids "the price of a dog to be brought into the "house of the Lord." It is difficult to find out why the price of a whore and of a dog are associated in the same law, unless it be in opposition to some profane rites among the Egyptians, who, as they had harlots sacred to Isis, so a dog was the symbol of one of their principal deities, under the name of Anubis. If this idolatry was so old as the days of Moses, which it is certain prevailed afterward, this

BOOK V. may be a probable reason, why God would not accept so much as the price for which a dog was sold or exchanged: for example, (says Maimonides,) if a man gave a lamb for a fine dog, God would by no means admit of that lamb to be offered as a victim upon his altar. It was likewise the business of these vile women to weave hangings for the grove of the goddess Astarte; they were a kind of curtains that encompassed the image, and made a tabernacle or habitation for it; into those tents the worshippers went, and committed all manner of lewdness; for it seems they had not arrived at such a degree of impudence, as not to seek for privacy in their filthiness.

2 Kings xxiii. 7.

But the most execrable rite of idolatry was the consecration of men to impurity and unnatural prostitution, who exposed their bodies to be abused in honour of the deities they worshipped; these Sodomites had a house erected joining to the temple at Jerusalem, that was sacred, and set apart for such flagitious mixtures. This impiety, by the law of Moses, was capital; and though the kind of death is not mentioned, yet it is probable it was by burning, because the impure Sodomites were consumed by fire.

Levit. xviii. 22.

The groves and high places devoted to idolatry had priests fixed in attendance upon them: they were clothed in black vestments, which was the habit worn by all who sacrificed to the infernal gods, and was contrary to the garments of the Hebrew priesthood, which were white, and worn by all who had no defect, and whose genealogies were clear and undisputed. Among the Egyptians, Osiris, or the sun, was represented by a black ox covered

2 Kings xxiii. 5.

with a black silk garment, which was the reason the priests of the idol were clothed with a vestment of that colour. CHAP. I.

Another ceremony of idolatry was to dance about the altar after the manner of the ancient Salii, and the priests would run about as men in an ecstasy, with a prophetical fury, which put them into strange and disorderly motions; and when they were possessed with this impulse, they were used to slash themselves with knives and other instruments till the blood gushed out. Mr. Mede has a peculiar notion, that Baalam being the deified souls of dead men, therefore the prophets of Baal cut themselves in his worship, because this was a funeral rite, and for that reason retained in the service of such gods, in token that they were no more than men canonized after death. It is certain that the law of Moses forbids any cutting in the flesh for the dead, in imitation of the heathen, who observed this savage rite to pacify the infernal spirits, and make them propitious to departed souls; Huetius conceives that the law of Solon's, which was transcribed by the Romans into the twelve tables, that women in mourning should not scratch their cheeks, had its original from this prohibition in the law of Moses.

Book iii. p. 629. Levit. xix. 28.

Demonstr. Evangel. Prop. 4. c. xii.

The idolaters, who worshipped the stars and planets, particularly the Arabians, in imitation of Bacchus, used to cut their hair equal behind and before, to make their head in the form of an hemisphere; they likewise shaved the hair of their beards. In opposition to which practices, the law enjoined that the Hebrews should suffer the hair of their head to grow, and not presume *to mar the corners of their beards.*

Levit. xix. 27.

BOOK V.

Levi, Precept. 257.

Nor were they "to print any mark on them;" which was a custom among the heathens, that they might be known to belong to such a particular god. They used, says a rabbi, to devote themselves to their gods by notes or signs, signifying they were their servants, redeemed with their price, and stamped with their mark; these impressions were made with a hot iron, in their hands, foreheads, or necks, or they were pricked with a needle dipped in glastum, which made blue spots in their skin, as the manner was among the Arabians; and they expressed either the name of the god to whose service they were consecrated, or else by a proper character denoted whom they honoured; as a thunderbolt signified they were devoted to Jupiter, a spear or helmet to Mars, a trident to Neptune; and these were signs (or sacraments as we may call them) whereby they were solemnly addicted to the worship of these deities. The priests of the Syrian goddess, according to Lucian, were all marked, some in their wrists, others in their necks, from whence all the Assyrians carry such brands or marks in their flesh; and so are the Jews, that were initiated in the Egyptian rites, said by the author of the third book of Maccabees to be stigmatized with the leaves of ivy, which were the insignia of Bacchus. From this ancient practice it is probable that Christians have derived the unjustifiable custom of printing the Jerusalem cross upon the arms of those who go to visit our Saviour's sepulchre. I shall add no more, but that the Jews were so inclined to receive such a badge as this, that they made no scruple to print the name of their own god in their flesh, as appears by that canon mentioned by the

learned Schickard; "If any man write the name of "God upon his flesh, let him neither wash nor "anoint in that place." CHAP. I. Misphat. Hamel, c. ii. Theorem 5.

CHAP. II.

The punishments appointed for idolatry and blasphemy by the Levitical law.

MANY and severe are the injunctions of the Mosaic law against the worship of idols, and the service of strange gods; the Lord Jehovah alone was to be the object of their belief and adoration, who had a peculiar right to their homage and obedience, by conducting them out of the land of Egypt, and delivering them from the servitude under which they groaned; and this (as the Hebrews speak) was the great foundation of the law, for whoever confessed any other god, denied the whole law. No other God was to be worshipped with him, who was jealous of his honour, and would not suffer any corival or consort in that which was proper to himself. They were to make no image to represent him, nor set up a statue of whatever materials, in any place of divine worship; they were not so much as to look upon an idol, much less to inquire after what manner the Gentiles worshipped their gods, and what religious rites they used towards them; they were not allowed to make molten deities for others, and by consequence not for themselves, from whence came that observation among them, He that makes to himself an idol violates a double precept: first, in making it, and then, in making it to himself. They were forbidden so much as simply to name Exod. xx. 3, 4, &c. Lev. xix 4. Deut. xii. 30.

BOOK V. the gods of other nations, especially to call them by such appellations as attribute to them any divinity; and this precept obliged men and women in all places and at all times; and beating was the punishment inflicted for its violation.

Exod. xxiii. 13.

Exod. xxiii. 32. All society with idolaters was forbidden, lest they should infect the Hebrews with their infidelity, of which there was the greater danger, because they were too prone to follow the pagan customs; none of the seven nations of Canaan were allowed to exercise their heathenish worship among them, nor was any Gentile admitted to dwell with them, unless he renounced his idolatry; they were not to sell him a spot of land, nor suffer him to hire a house, only, as some of the rabbins expound it, he might come and traffick in the country; though others, of a more rigid opinion, will not suffer him to pass through the land when they had power to hinder it.

Deut. xiii. 1. Among the Jews, there was a constant succession of prophets to instruct them in the law, and preserve them in the true worship; if one of these pretended to a revelation from God by vision or by dream, with a design to seduce them into idolatry, and offered to demonstrate the legality of such a practice, by foretelling something, and the event confirms the prediction, so that he seems to be a true prophet; yet he was to be abhorred as a liar, (because God could not contradict himself, by persuading men to give his worship to another,) he was to be brought before the great sanhedrim, who alone had the judgment of a lying prophet, to be sentenced, upon good proof of the fact, and to be put to death by strangling. This was the punishment of an open seducer; but the secret advocates for

Deut. ver. 6.

idolatry, whether a wife, a brother, a son, or daughter, or the dearest friend, were executed by stoning; they were summoned before the court of twenty-three, and upon their trial the evidence was to dissemble nothing that made against them; no one was to intercede for them, to say any thing in their favour, nor to assist them to defend themselves, but they were prosecuted to death without mercy, as traitors against the majesty of God: the criminal was immediately executed after the sentence was pronounced, the accuser was to throw the first stone at him, together with the witnesses, and then the people were to assist at the execution. But the difficulty in this case seems to be, how to prove a man guilty, who enticed another *secretly*, (as the law speaks,) and not before evidence? To this the Jews say, that he who was enticed was to dispose some persons secretly, near to the place of their next meeting, who might hear the whole conversation, and give full testimony of it in the court before the judges: yet, if upon admonition the man desisted from his enticement, and resolved himself not to worship other gods, upon his repentance, the evidence was not obliged to inform against him. A private person that apostatized from his religion, and fell into idolatry, was tried in one of the lower courts, upon the testimony of two witnesses at least, and upon conviction was to die by stoning: and the more to confirm the truth of their testimony, the witnesses were appointed to be the first executioners of the sentence. CHAP. II. Deut. xvii. 2.

The end of this severity was to preserve the body of the people from the contagion of idolatry: but if the infection was spread into a city, or a considerable Deut. xiii. 12.

BOOK V. part of it, there was still the more danger, and more exemplary punishments were to be used, in order to secure the country about from being drawn away from their allegiance. Upon information that some profligate persons had withdrawn themselves from the service of God at the tabernacle, and seduced the inhabitants into strange worship, the great sanhedrim, who only could take cognisance of this crime, were immediately to send some, on whose fidelity they could rely, to examine the truth of the report concerning the defection; these were to use their utmost care and diligence in this inquisition, for it was a matter of great importance, that neither the innocent should suffer, nor the apostates go unpunished. But the punishment being so dreadful there was the more exactness used to be certain of the crime; and there were a great many temperaments (as Mr. Selden calls them) found by the Jewish lawyers, (partly from the nicest interpretation of every syllable in the precept, and partly from the pretended tradition of their elders,) whereby they mitigated the sharpness of this law; for they would not proceed upon it to destroy a city, though they found them idolaters, unless the seducers were two or more, and those also men, not women, because the law here speaks of certain men in the plural number, as if their forsaking God was not a crime, whether they were persuaded to it or not, by others. They say also, it was not to be a mere town or village, but a city, because the words here are, "in one "of thy cities," in which there were more than a hundred houses; if there were fewer, it was no city in their account, and so escaped. They who seduced a city also were to be of the same city, because it is

De Synedr. l. iii. c. 5.

said, these men of Belial are gone out from among you; all which are subtleties and evasions, that carry no conviction along with them: but there are other temperaments of this law, which have a better foundation in reason. As first, that a city was not to be destroyed, unless the major part of the inhabitants were fallen off to serve other gods. And secondly, that the law speaks only of lesser cities, not of those that were so large, that the greatest part of the tribe lived in it; for God never permitted that a whole tribe should be cut off by the senate. Thirdly, they might not destroy any of the six cities of refuge, because they had no right in them, and the words of the law are, *in one of the cities which the Lord hath given thee to dwell in,* whereas these were given for a further purpose. And fourthly, some add, not a frontier town, because it is said, *in the midst of thee;* (so the words are in the Hebrew, which we translate *among you;*) to which they subjoin a better reason, that by the destruction of such a city the country would have been exposed to the incursions of the Gentiles. And lastly, they except Jerusalem from this law, because God there kept his residence, and (as Maimonides will have it) it was not distributed to any particular tribe. But if that city was exempted from the judgment of men, the sentence was executed upon it by the divine vengeance; for the temple and all the houses of the city were for their idolatry consumed with fire by the Babylonians. Jer. lii. 13. CHAP. II.

If the inquisitors commissioned by the sanhedrim found, upon due examination, that there was an evident proof of their guilt, they were to make their report to the court, who, upon full satisfaction that

BOOK V. the whole city, or the greatest part of them, were fallen to idolatry, sent two men of extraordinary wisdom (who were candidates for the senatorial dignity) to admonish them, and by arguments endeavour to reduce them to the true worship. If they prevailed, they were pardoned, and all further proceedings ceased: but if they continued obstinate, the sanhedrim commanded the people to raise an army and besiege the place; and if they were opposed, to enter it by force. When the city was taken, several courts were appointed to try the guilty, and whoever had been admonished, and was afterwards proved guilty by two witnesses, was set aside: if they proved to be the lesser part of the city, they were stoned, (according to the law against single apostates,) the rest being freed from punishment: but if they were the majority, they were sent to the great sanhedrim, who adjudged them to be cut off by the sword, with their wives, their children, and their cattle. Thus the whole city was punished if there was an universal defection. Such as belonged to the city, and abhorred the idolatry of the rest, it is supposed, withdrew themselves and their effects before sentence was pronounced against so wicked a place; but the goods of the idolaters, wherever they were found, were to be burnt; they were brought together into the market-place, if there was one, or into some spacious place, where all the spoil and the householdstuff (not the smallest part being reserved to their own use) was set on fire, as a cursed thing, and consumed. The city itself was to be reduced to ashes; the ground was for ever to lie waste; and whosoever offered to erect any building there, was to be beaten for his presumption. Thus was God

appeased, who was highly incensed by such a wickedness. The punishment indeed was very terrible, but very necessary, because the crime was of so high a nature, that it struck at the very foundation of their religion and government. CHAP. II.

The sin of blasphemy was punished by stoning: the criminal was convicted by the judicial process of the sanhedrim, and thence was he led to execution without the camp, the witnesses were first to lay their hands upon his head, which was a particular ceremony in this case; for hands were laid upon the head of no offender condemned by the great court, but upon a blasphemer only. By the use of this rite they declared that they had given a true testimony against him, and thought him worthy of the death he was condemned to suffer; and withal they used this form, "Let thy blood be upon *thy* own "head, which thou hast brought upon thyself by thy "own guilt;" then they took off their hands, and he was stoned to death by all the congregation. The rabbins are not agreed in the definition of this sin; yet it is generally conceived to mean a speaking contemptuously of God and his attributes, and a bold attempt to subvert the established principles and foundations of their religion. Exod. xxiv. 14.

There is a precept in the Mosaic law, forbidding the *seething a kid,* or a lamb, *in its mother's milk.* This was an idolatrous rite in use among the Gentiles, especially when they gathered the fruits of the earth, to implore the gods to be the more propitious to them. All the trees and fields, (says our most learned Dr. Cudworth, from a Karaite writer,) and gardens, were sprinkled with the broth of such a kid, after a magical manner, to make them more Exod. xxiii. 19.

BOOK V. fruitful in the following year. Nothing could be more contrary to nature, (and therefore more agreeable to the institutions of the Devil,) than to boil a young creature in the milk of its mother; some remains of which custom we find even among the Romans themselves, who propitiated Sylvanus, by offering him milk, and Faunus with a kid, and every one knows that both these were used in the solemnities of Bacchus.

CHAP. III.

The various kinds of idolatry; the worshipping of angels, the sun, moon, and stars, and the adoration of demons.

THE writers of the Jews, who have treated upon the subject of idolatry, commonly explain it into three kinds, according to the different objects of adoration, and make it consist in the worshipping of angels, of the host of heaven, sun, moon, and stars, and of devils.

It is difficult to determine, whether the old Hebrews offered divine homage to angels, and there is but one passage in scripture, that I know of, which seems to charge them with such a practice. In the form of benediction, which Jacob used upon the sons of Joseph, he invokes an angel: *The angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads.* The rabbins in glossing upon this text observe, that the prayers of their ancestors were not directly addressed to angels, but it was really God they invoked when they prayed to them; they only go to them as to the king, by his ministers, and as one that presents his petition to the first officer of the crown, yet still looks to the king as the source and spring of his

Gen. xlviii. 16.

happiness and favours that he has received. But this exposition is refuted by others, who remark, that Jacob, after he had directly applied himself to God, and begged of him both temporal and eternal blessings for his two grandsons, then addressed himself to the angel, to obtain of him, that he would keep them from all evil; from whence they conclude, that Jacob addressed his prayers directly to the angel, to whom he ascribed the power of preserving from evil, whilst he left to God the privilege of bestowing all that was good; and if the prayer of the patriarch was implicitly addressed to God as the fountain of goodness, yet he certainly prayed explicitly to the angel: but notwithstanding this dispute, the best expositors among Christians deny that this invocation of Jacob implies any thing like a prayer to the angel. Some indeed conceive, that the angel in this place is the second person in the Trinity; an opinion refuted by others, who more justly say, that Jacob intended no more than a desire that his children might enjoy the angelical protection by the special favour of God to them; for it is such an expression as that of David to a contrary purpose, *Let the angel of the Lord persecute them*, where no one will say he prays to an angel, though his words are exactly like those of Jacob. CHAP. III. Ps. xxxv. 6.

St. Jerome, in explaining the reproach that our Saviour cast upon the Jews, for their swearing by the creatures, concludes, that he charges them with swearing by the angels, and paying divine honours to them. The authority of that Father has seduced even protestants, who have not observed that the text has no regard to angels, but speaks of the city In Matt. v.

BOOK V. of the great King, and of the gift upon the altar. The worshipping of angels would be very ancient, if our Saviour had so early condemned it; but St. Jerome is grossly deceived in a matter so plain and evident; so that his testimony ought no more to be alleged, because it is absolutely false.

The Jewish rabbins of a modern date have openly protested, that they offer no worship to angels, nor do they serve them as mediators and intercessors. In their Catechism, there is an anathema pronounced against all that shall petition for any thing to an angel, or any other celestial power. Maimonides reckons as the sixth article of faith, that God alone is to be adored, magnified, celebrated, and praised. We are not to invoke the angels or their chiefs, such as Gabriel and Michael, says the famous Kimchi; Abraham our father is long since dead. The father knows not his son, but whilst he is alive: God alone is that Father that lives for ever, and redeems us from all misery and calamity.

In Tract. Sanhedr. c. 11.

The most ancient idolatry of all other seems to have been the worship of the sun and moon, and the rest of the celestial bodies, called *the host of heaven*. The splendour of these great luminaries prevailed upon mankind to believe, that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs in the same manner, as the soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions, and that these intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, and therefore they were thought the properest beings to undertake the office of mediators between God and mankind. They are called *demons* in the Pagan theology, and are said by Plato to be reporters and carriers from

[a] In Sympos.

men to the gods, and again, from the gods to men, of the supplications and prayers of the one, and of the injunctions and demands of devotion from the other. To make this idolatry the more reasonable, some of the philosophers have asserted, that the sun particularly is indued with understanding, and therefore is called by Proclus *the king of intellectual fire*, to distinguish it from other fires, which are without intelligence: and from thence, in one of the coins of Caracalla, there is over the sun, surrounded with rays, the word *providentia*. The Hebrews, from the beginning of their republic, had accustomed themselves to this worship, and after the appearance of Christianity, it was difficult to extirpate the practice of it; for the Essenes (the best sect among the Jews) seem to be inclined to this superstition: some indeed excuse them, as if they only admired the sun, as the most excellent work of God, which they expressed by some kind of adoration; but Josephus expressly asserts, that in the morning they directed to him certain prayers, as if they beseeched him to rise; and this was so deeply impressed upon some who professed Christianity, that the followers of Basilides and the Manichees, called the sun and moon by the name of *gods*, and sometimes profanely applied the name of *Christ* to the sun. No wonder therefore that Julian the apostate should say, that God produced out of himself the sun, the greatest God, in all things like unto himself; for which he quotes Plato in his famous oration in praise of the sun, where he says, the same sun has filled the heaven with innumerable other gods; the whole heaven is full of gods from the sun. CHAP. III.

The planets being nearest the earth of all the hea-

BOOK V. venly bodies, were generally looked upon to have the greatest influence upon this world, and therefore they were made choice of by the heathens to mediate for them to the supreme God, and, accordingly, they paid divine worship to them. They were first adored by their tabernacles, and after by images: these sacred tabernacles were the orbs themselves, in which they supposed the intelligences made their abodes; and when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship towards the planet in which they supposed he dwelt. These idolatrous rites were strictly forbidden to the Hebrews, and the law gives this reason, because all nations of the world enjoy the benefit of the sun, moon, and stars, as well as they; and therefore God alone was to be adored, who appointed those luminaries for the service of his creatures. It is an opinion that prevails generally with the Jews, that God has distributed the nations of the universe under the government of several stars, which stars are under the immediate direction of angels, but the Jews under the direction of God alone, and not subject to any planet. But this construction has no foundation at all, much less can we suppose that God ordained that the nations of the world should worship the heavenly host, lest they should be atheists, as Justin Martyr conceived, unless he means that God for their sins delivered them up to this impiety, which perhaps is no improbable conjecture.

Deut. iv. 19.

It is difficult to come at satisfaction, concerning the demonology of the ancient Hebrews, and therefore it will be hard to explain what is meant by the worshipping of devils, which is the last species of idolatry, according to the division of the rabbins.

The latter Jews have fallen into infinite superstition about the origin, the nature, the fall, and punishment of wicked spirits, but the more sensible of them believe, that the angels created in a state of innocence, fell from it through a kind of jealousy for man, and their revolt from God, which comes nearest to the account of Moses: it is certain that the Israelites, among other acts of worship, offered sacrifice to devils. The word in the Hebrew signifies *destroyers*, (as the Devil is called in the book of Revelation,) as spirits delighting in mischief, and leading those that worship them into perdition. They are called demons by the Seventy, because they lead men into the impiety of worshipping other gods, either themselves, or some other beings, which they persuade their votaries had some dignity in them. CHAP. III. Deut. xxxii. 17. Rev. ix 11.

Besides these demons of an angelic nature, that were never joined to a mortal body, there were others who are called *dii animales*, *soul-gods*, or the deified souls of men after death. This way of canonization is of great antiquity, and was practised by the heathens in the beginning of the Hebrew government, and gave occasion to a kind of idolatry, which the people fell into in imitation of the nations about them. Hesiod takes notice of this superstition, and asserts, that when those happy men of the first and golden age of the world were departed this life, great Jupiter promoted them to be demons, that is, keepers and protectors, or patrons, of earthly mortals, and overseers of their good and evil works. And Plato, in his Republic, would have all those who die valiantly in the field, to be made demons, and the oracle to be consulted how they should be buried and honoured; and accordingly, ever after- Lib. v.

BOOK V. wards, their sepulchres to be served and adored as the sepulchres of demons. In like manner should be done to all, who in their lifetime excelled in virtue, whether they died through age, or otherwise.

The first that was ever deified or reputed a god after death, was Baal, (or, in the Chaldee dialect, Bel,) the first king of Babel after Nimrod, from whence, in after-times, all other demons were called Baalim, in the manner that all the Roman emperors, after the first, were called Cæsars, because the first was called by that name. Plutarch observes, that demons are sometimes called by the names of those celestial gods whose ministers and proctors they are, and from whom they receive their power and divinity, as Apollo's demon Apollo, Jupiter's demon Jupiter: and the same author asserts, that the souls of men took degrees after death; first they commenced heroes, who were as probationers to a demonship; then after a sufficient time they were advanced to demons; and after that, if they deserved well, they were raised to a more sublime degree: however it be, it is certain, that demons and heroes differ but in more and less antiquity, the more ancient heroes being called *demons*, and the younger demons were known by the name of *heroes*.

De defect. Orac.

There was yet another species of demons, as learned men have imagined, to which the Israelites offered sacrifice, and these were a sort of evil spirits that appeared especially in desert places, in the form of goats, who in scripture are called *seirim*, which properly signifies *goats*. From whence arose the opinion that the Hebrews really sacrificed to these creatures, as some of the Egyptians did, who held

goats to be sacred animals: but it is doubted, whether the Egyptians were really guilty of such idolatry in the days of Moses. It seems more reasonable to believe, the old Hebrews worshipped the demons adored by the ancient Zabii, who appeared in the shape of goats; and this practice was universally spread in the time of Moses, which occasioned that this kind of idolatry was so strictly forbidden in his injunctions. CHAP. III.

CHAP. IV.

The consecration of hills, woods, and groves: the adoration of pillars and images.

IT is certain, that the ancient heathens thought it unlawful to erect temples to their gods, because they conceived no temple could be spacious enough for the sun, which was their principal deity. From hence came that saying among them, "the whole "world is a temple for the sun;" and when after-times had introduced the building of temples, they judged it improper to confine the supposed infinities of their deities within walls; and therefore the god Terminus, and many others, were worshipped in temples open roofed, for which reason they made choice of hills and mountains, as the most convenient places for idolatry; for here they conceived their sacrifices were more acceptable than in valleys, because, says Lucian, men were then nearer to the gods, and so the more readily obtained audience. Alex. ab Alex. lib. ii. c. 22.

As the number of their gods increased, so these consecrated hills were multiplied, from which their gods and goddesses took their names, as Mercurius

BOOK V. Cyllenius, Venus Erycina, Jupiter Capitolinus. At length to beautify these holy hills, the places of their idolatrous worship, they surrounded them with trees, that their impure rites might be celebrated with greater solemnity, and hence came the consecration of woods and groves, from which their idols had their denomination. At last some select trees began to be consecrated to this or that deity, and, to attract devotion, the heathens trimmed them up with ribbons, adorned them with lights, and made vows to them, and hung upon them the spoils of their enemies; so that travellers were used to stop when they were to pass by them, as if they had been the tabernacle and habitation of some particular god. These were the temples of the gods, saith Pliny, and even now the simple people, after the ancient rites, dedicate to a deity such trees as excel the rest; nor do we more adore the images glittering with gold and ivory, than we do the groves, and the solemn silence therein. And then he reckons what trees were peculiarly sacred to Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva, and other gods, concluding that several of them, such as the Sylvani, Fauni, and some of their nymphs, had their names from the woods. This was a thing so notorious, that in their most sacred solemnities they were used to present the gods whom they worshipped with a crown, or a garland, made of boughs, and leaves of such trees, in which they were thought to delight; as, to Jupiter a crown of oak, to Apollo of laurel, to Minerva of olive, to Venus of myrtle.

Hist. Nat. lib. xii.

Deut. vii. 5. This superstition infected the Hebrews in common with other nations, notwithstanding they were commanded by the law of Moses, not only to avoid,

but to extirpate this kind of idolatry wherever they found it, by cutting down their consecrated woods and groves, that no monument of those impure places might be left in the country, nor no shades afford a covering to images and altars erected to false gods: and this prohibition was not restrained to the land of Canaan, which was taken from the old inhabitants, upon the account of their idolatry, but extended to all the countries they should conquer, lest by imitation they should be infected with the impieties of the people they had subdued, and be seduced from their obedience to those laws by which God designed they should be governed. CHAP. IV. Exod. xxxiv. 13.

The Hebrews had not only their idols upon hills and mountains, but they worshipped a sort of *penates* which they placed sometimes behind the doors of their private houses, and adored as domestic deities. And the prophet Hosea charges the Israelites with going a whoring after the gods they had set up in their corn-floors and in their wine-presses; in short, there was scarce a private room, or a highway, or a corner of a street, where there was not some idolatrous image, which in the wicked times of their government was set up by profane princes and persons, in order to destroy the established religion, and corrupt the devotion of the people. The effigies likewise of some god was engraven and worn in rings, in the nature of amulets, in which they vainly fancied there was some power to preserve them from mischief and misfortune. Maimonides mentions such idolatrous rings as were utterly unlawful to be used, and vessels marked with the image of the sun, the moon, or Dagon, which were accounted symbols of divinity among the heathens. Isa. lvii. 8. Hos. ix. 1, 2. De Idolol. c. 7.

BOOK V. The most ancient monuments of idolatry among
Lev. xxvi. 1. the Gentiles were consecrated pillars, or columns, which the Hebrews were forbidden to erect as objects of divine homage and adoration. These were rude stones without the representation of men or any other creatures, and may signify any other work; an altar, for instance, set up for sacred purposes, and the exercise of religious rites. The sovereign celestial gods were worshipped in the sun, moon, and stars, wherein they were thought to dwell, but the petty deities, the demons, were at first adored in plain, simple columns, in which, after a solemn dedication, they were supposed to keep
Gen. xxviii. 18. their residence. This practice is conceived to arise from an imitation of Jacob, who took a stone and set it up for a pillar, as a monument of the divine mercy to him, and to preserve the memory of the
Vossius de Idol. lib. vi. c. 38. vision which he had seen. This stone was held in great veneration in future times, and by the Jews removed to Jerusalem; after the destruction of which, by Titus, they were indulged (upon that day when it was taken, which was the only day they were permitted to come thither) with great lamentation and expressions of sorrow, to go anoint this stone. From the word *Bethel*, the place where the pillar was erected, came the word *bætylia* among the heathen, which signified *rude stones*, which they worshipped, either as symbols of divinity, or as true gods animated by some heavenly power.
Lib. ii. Canaan. c. 2. The learned Bochart asserts, that the Phœnicians, at least as the Jews think, first worshipped this very stone which Jacob anointed, and afterward consecrated others, which they called, *bætylia*, or *bætyli*, in memory of this stone anointed at Bethel. It is

certain, that this idolatrous custom came very early into the world, which gave occasion to Moses, not only to forbid the erecting of such pillars, but to command them to be broken down and destroyed, wherever they were found, because in his time they were converted to profane uses. CHAP. IV.

The worshipping of images had the same foundation with the adoring of pillars; for images, as Mr. Mede observes, were the bodies for demons to animate and dwell in. The making of these idols is strictly prohibited, and it is supposed they included not only protuberant statues made of wood or stone, and other materials, but also the pictures of the stars, or birds, or men, or beasts, or fishes, lest they should prove the instruments of idolatry. The second commandment in the Decalogue is thus understood by Origen, who asserts, that there was not so much as a picture-drawer or a maker of statues in their commonwealth. This opinion he derived, in all likelihood, from the Jews, who, from the time of the Maccabees to the destruction of Jerusalem, thought they were forbidden by this law to make an image or figure of any living creature, especially of a man. Josephus relates, that all the Roman governors before Pilate were used to carry ensigns in Jerusalem without the image of Cæsar in them, because their law forbad the making of images; and when Vitellius was to lead the Roman army through Judæa against the Arabians, with images in their ensigns, the people ran to meet him, beseeching him to forbear it, for it was not consonant to the laws of their country to see images brought into it. But whether this was the ancient exposition of the law is much to be questioned. The

Book iii. c. 5.

Archæol. lib. xvii. c. 5.

BOOK V. Talmudists think it was unlawful to make any figures of celestial bodies, either prominent or plain, though it were only upon the account of ornament; but as for animals, they might make prominent statues of them, except only of men, the images of whom they might draw upon a plain. These distinctions are looked upon as not sufficiently supported; and the common opinion is, that Moses did not intend to forbid the very making of an image, but that they should not be made for the uses of religion, or set up in any place of divine worship.

It is not to be doubted but that the first images were made of very mean materials, and it is probable that the first statues were made of potter's clay, well burnt, like our earthen vessels; and what confirms this opinion is, that these statues had their beginning at Babylon, the place where the working of clay or earth was first practised, as well as the burning of it, as is evident from the tower of Babel made of brickwork. That these earthen gods might appear the more beautiful to the eye, they were sometimes painted with vermilion; next to this, they chose wood, which is the easiest for carving, for the materials of their gods. This is manifest from the several passages in the prophets, where they upbraid the Jews with their wooden gods;

Isai. xliv. 14, 15, 16. *He heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak: part thereof he will take to burn and warm himself, with part thereof he eateth flesh, and the residue thereof he maketh a god, and falleth down unto it.* But the eastern nations did not continue long in this simplicity, for they affected a singular magnificence and respect in the precious materials of their idols. Thus we find the Hebrews

made their calf of the best of metals, and the scrip- CHAP. IV.
ture frequently reproaches the Pagans with the idols of gold and silver, which indeed were more frequent in the eastern, than in any other parts of the world.

The prohibition in the law of Moses concerning the worship of images is very particular; for as it was forbidden to represent God in a human shape, which was common among the heathens, so they were not to make the figure of any beast, or bird, or insect: for in the shape of such creatures the Gentiles represented their gods, or some of their qualities, for not only oxen were sacred to Apis, and rams to Jupiter Ammon, but hawks and eagles, and even beetles, were consecrated to other deities. No image of a serpent was allowed, because they had been often used as symbols of divinity, nor of a fish, which was one of the deities of the Syrians. If they saw any images, (as they must needs do in other countries,) the Hebrews were obliged to use no gesture before them, that signified any degree of reverence or honour, either by prostration, by bowing their bodies, or kissing their hands, much less to offer sacrifice, to make vows, to burn incense, to consecrate temples to them, to swear by them, or to light candles before them.

Deut. iv. 16, 17.

Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.

The punishment attending upon this sin was the destruction and ruin of themselves and families. Idolatry was understood to be a kind of high treason against the Sovereign of heaven and earth, and therefore God threatens to pursue the guilty with his vengeance in their posterity. It is an observation of Maimonides, that visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children is denounced only against the sin of idolatry, and to the fourth generation is

Exod. xx. 5.

More Nevoch. p. 1. c. liv.

BOOK V. only mentioned, because the most a man can live to see of his seed is the fourth generation; accordingly God orders, says he, that if any city prove idolaters, the inhabitants should be destroyed utterly, and all that was therein; fathers, children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, and the new-born infants were all killed for the sin of their parents. The same rabbi judiciously remarks, that in the whole law of Moses, and in the books of the prophets, we shall never find these words, *fury*, *anger*, *indignation*, *jealousy*, attributed to God, but when they relate to idolatry; nor any man called an enemy to God, an adversary, an hater of him, but only idolaters, from whence it appears that the worshippers of images were always included under that denomination; not that they thought these images to be gods, (for no man in the world ever thought a statue to be the Creator of heaven and earth, or the Governor of the world,) but esteemed them only as messengers and mediators between God and men. This was a law so well known to the ancient heathens, that the best men among them would suffer no images to be set up in their temples; in particular, Numa forbad this to the Romans, which he learned, as Clemens Alexandrinus conceives, from the institutions of Moses; insomuch that for the space of a hundred and seventy years, though the Romans built temples, yet they made no image, neither statue, nor so much as a picture; and the reason is thus given by Plutarch in the life of that prince, because they thought it a great crime to represent the most excellent Being by such mean things, and that God was to be apprehended only by the mind.

The Hebrews by the law of Moses were obliged CHAP. IV
to destroy all the images they found; such as were Deut. vii. 5.
molten were to be broken down, and such as were graven were to be consumed with fire, that no incentive to idolatry might remain, nor any monument of profane worship be left in the countries they had subdued. To see this done was properly the business of the supreme governor, as the learned Grotius observes; for though out of private De Imp cr. Sum. Potest. circa Sacra, c. viii. §. 3
places it belonged to the lord of the place, or, if he were negligent, to the king, to remove idols, yet none but the supreme power might remove them out of public places, or such persons who were delegated thereby to that office. After the idols were defaced, the Jews were forbidden to employ any of Deut. vii. 25, 26.
the gold or silver to their own use, lest they should be seduced into a conceit that there was something sacred in it, and so tempted to worship it; nor were they to bring it into their houses, to be applied to any private purpose for advantage, it being one of their affirmative precepts, that no man should seek the least profit or benefit from any thing belonging to an idol; but they were to look upon it, not only as useless and unprofitable, but as hateful and execrable; and therefore (under the penalty of stoning) it was to be entirely consumed and destroyed. These injunctions tended highly to the security of the true religion, which taught them to have every thing contrary to it, in the utmost abhorrence, insomuch (as Maimonides interprets this More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 37.
precept) that if a man broke such images, or melted them down, and then sold the silver and gold, he committed an abomination, and the price of this being mingled with their other riches, proved the

BOOK V. rust of them all. Of this the Jews were so sensible, after they had severely smarted for their idolatry, that they thought it unlawful to use any vessel that had been employed in sacrificing to a false god; nay, to warm themselves with the wood of a grove, after it was cut down, or to sit under the shadow of it, for coolness sake, while it was standing, or so much as to use the ashes of the wood that was left after the grove was burnt.

CHAP. V.

The worshipping of the brasen serpent.

NOTWITHSTANDING the severity of the law against the making of images, yet, as Justin Martyr observes in his book against Trypho, it must be somewhat mysterious, that God, in the case of the brasen serpent, should command an image to be made, for which, he says, one of the Jews confessed, he never could hear a reason from any of their doctors; nor is it possible, says the same father, to be understood, till they believe in Christ, and him crucified, whose victory over the devils, by his cross and passion, was in this type most lively represented. This was an image of polished brass, in the form of one of those flaming serpents who bit the people, which, though not followed with immediate death, yet made an inflammation; and such ulcers, as some conceive, were incurable. This figure was set upon a pole, so high that every one in the camp might see it; and whoever was bitten, when he looked up to it, and (as the Jews speak) directed his heart to God, was cured of the wound.

They had so much understanding generally, as to say, that the mere beholding of it had no effect, for the author of the book of Wisdom observes, *he that turned himself towards it was not healed by the thing which he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of all;* and therefore it was a superstitious conceit to fancy that this serpent was a sort of talisman, made to receive I know not what influence from the stars. CHAP. V. Ch. xvi. 7.

To be cured and restored to perfect health, by looking upon this image, according to the Jews, advanced the dignity of the miracle, because naturally it would have made the inflammation the greater; for they observe that those, who are bit by venomous beasts, and follow the prescriptions of physicians, must not behold the image of the beast by whom they were bitten: but this was commanded by God, that the Israelites might know that their disease and their medicine came from Him, who made that whose aspect was pernicious become a remedy, and a means of their preservation. The lifting up of the brasen serpent was a thing so well known to all the neighbouring nations, that, as Tavernier relates in his travels, the fame of it, in all probability, was carried into India, where they still set up an idol in the form of a wreathed serpent upon a perch six or seven foot high, which they devoutly worship, and solemnly carrying it along with them in their travels, prepare it every morning for the company to pay their adorations to it. P. 28.

This brasen serpent was preserved as a monument of the divine mercy, but in process of time became an instrument of idolatry. When this superstition began, is difficult to determine; but the best

BOOK V. account is given by David Kimchi in the following manner. From the time that the kings of Israel did evil, and the children of Israel followed idolatry, till the reign of Hezekiah, they offered incense to it; for it being written in the law of Moses, *whoever looks upon it shall live*, they fancied they might obtain blessings by its mediation, and therefore thought it worthy to be worshipped. It had been kept from the days of Moses, in memory of a miracle, just as the pot of manna also was: and Asa and Jehoshaphat did not extirpate it, when they rooted out idolatry, because in their reign they did not observe that the people worshipped this serpent, or burnt incense to it; and therefore they left it as a memorial. But Hezekiah thought fit to take it quite away, when he abolished other idolatry, because in the time of his father they adored it as an idol; and though pious people among them accounted it only as a memorial of a wonderful work, yet he judged it better to abolish it, though the memory of the miracle should happen to be lost, than suffer it to remain, and leave the Israelites in danger to commit idolatry hereafter with it. Our learned Dr. Jackson observes, that the pious Hezekiah was moved with the greater indignation against the worship of this image, because in truth it never was a type of our Saviour, but a figure of his grand enemy, and therefore he expressed such detestation of it, as not only to break it in pieces, to grind it to powder, and scatter it in the air, that no superstitious relic might remain of it, but to fix upon it the name of *Nehuhstan*, the signification of which word though not to be found in our lexicons, yet in our English language is conceived to import no less

Humiliation of the Son of God, c. 31.

than *Satan*, the foul *fiend*, or the old *dragon*. There is a fable among the Jews, that some fragments of the brasen serpent remained till the time of Josiah; and at this day, as Sigonius relates in his history of Italy, they pretend to shew this serpent entire at the church of St. Ambrose in Milan: but the wiser Romanists are ashamed of this imposture, and confess it is not the figure made by Moses, (which was broken, and never restored,) but another, devised in imitation of it. CHAP. V.

CHAP. VI.

The idolatry of the golden calf.

THE molten calf was another object of idolatrous worship among the Hebrews. They had hitherto been conducted through the wilderness by a pillar of cloud and fire, that went before them, but that cloud now covering the mount where Moses was, and not removing at all from thence, they imagined that it would no longer be their guide, and therefore they applied to Aaron, as supreme governor of their affairs, to make for them a sacred sign, or symbol, as other nations had, that might represent God in a visible manner. They said to Aaron, say the Jews, We find that the Egyptians extol their gods, they sing and chant before them, for they behold them with their eyes; make us such gods as theirs are, that we may see them before us. They desired, saith a rabbi, a sensible object of divine worship, not with any intention to deny God who brought them out of Egypt, but that something in the place of God might stand before them Exod. xxxii. 1, 2, &c.

In Pirke Elieser. c. 45. Jehudah in Lib. Cosri, p. i. §. 97.

BOOK V. when they declared his wonderful works. Aaron, after great debate and importunity, complied with their demand; for it is not credible he would immediately consent to so impious a fact as this is, without the least argument against it. This is so improbable, that the Jews have invented this story, that Hur having rebuked the people for this attempt, they fell upon him and killed him, which frighted Aaron into a speedy compliance.

The materials of this idol were golden earrings of the people, worn in those eastern countries by men as well as women, and probably they were some of the jewels which they borrowed of the Egyptians. These they presented as an offering to Aaron, who put them in a bag, and then, having a mould, cast them into it, and made a golden calf.

This image was no bigger than a calf, though it had an head like an ox; and some imagine that Aaron with a graving tool, made the same marks upon it as were upon the Egyptian Apis, which was a cow that had a spot upon her right side like a crescent, (as some writers observe,) and a square white spot in her forehead. But others think it more reasonable, that the calf coming rough out of the mould, he only polished it with a proper tool; for though Apis was in great honour among the Egyptians, yet it was a living cow, and not the image of one, which they had in such veneration. Therefore Mr. Selden takes it to be more probable, that this golden calf, or ox, or bullock, (for so the Psalmist differently calls it,) was made in imitation of that golden ox that represented Osiris; for the Egyptians had a mighty veneration for the river Nile, called in Hebrew *Sichor*, (from whence came

De Dis Syris. Synt. I. c. iv.

Ps. cvi. 19, 20.

Siris,) and for the dog-star, (called *Siris* likewise,) at whose rising the river began to swell, and for the sun, (which was principally intended by this name,) to whom both the bull at Heliopolis and the ox at Memphis were solemnly consecrated. CHAP. VI.

It is difficult to discover the reason that induced Aaron to represent God in this figure; many are of opinion that he imitated the Egyptians, among whom he had long lived, which to me appears unlikely, since he had seen the judgments executed by God against all their deities. Nor is it probable that he would make such a representation of the divinity as was in use among a nation from whose slavery they had lately been delivered; and further, what reason is there to imagine, that the Israelites themselves could be inclined to believe, that their God was like any thing which that people worshipped, who abhorred the sacrifices which the God of Israel required. Their conjecture seems to be more reasonable, who say, that Aaron in making this calf, took his pattern from some part of the shechinah, which appeared to him and the elders of Israel, (when they eat before God,) attended with the angels; some of which, called *cherubims*, they think appeared with the faces of oxen. But as there is no mention in that place of cherubims, nor of angels appearing in any shape whatsoever, and Moses expressly says, the Israelites *saw no manner of similitude on the day when the Lord spake to them in Horeb*, (and therefore in all probability Aaron and the elders saw none afterwards,) so it is supposed there is no evidence that the heavenly ministers at any time appeared in this shape, till the shechinah departed from the temple in the days of

Exod. xxiv. 10.

Deut. iv. 15.

BOOK V. Ezekiel. It is therefore imagined, that Aaron made choice of an ox to be the symbol of the divine presence, in hope that the people would never be so stupid as to worship it, but only to put them in mind of the divine power represented by it; for the head of an ox was anciently an emblem of strength, and horns were a common sign of kingly power, which made the Christian fathers perhaps, when they spake of this calf, or ox of Aaron, mention only its head; because Moses (says Lactantius) went up to the mount and stayed there forty days, they made themselves the figure of a bullock's head, called *Apis* in Egypt, to be carried before them; not because he imagined that Aaron made only the head, but because this was the principal part whereby God was represented.

Instit. lib. iv. c. 10.

When the idol of the calf was formed, the people cried out, that it was a proper image or symbol of the divine Majesty, which had delivered them from the bondage of Egypt, and Aaron, at their request, set it apart by a solemn rite of consecration; he built an altar, offered sacrifices, and kept a solemn feast in honour of it, and as at this time Moses had not prescribed any rules for their sacrifices, it is probable that they sacrificed after the manner of the nations, and likely, after the custom of the Egyptians. This mock dedication was solemnized with music, dancing, and songs, and some imagine, that after they had eaten and drunk liberally, they committed fornication, and all manner of lasciviousness, after the manner of the heathen worshippers.

Moses, upon his return from the mount, was an eyewitness of these abominable festivities in the

camp, and being seized with a divine impulse, he threw the idol into the fire, and melted it down, so that though the matter remained, yet the outward form and shape of it was destroyed; he then filed it down to powder, and grated it into dust as small as flour, and strawed it upon the water of the brook that descended out of the mount. So that the people having no other water, were obliged, when they were thirsty, to drink it with this mixture. The Jews fancy, that the dust of the calf was thrown into the brook, in order to discover those that were guilty of idolatry; for upon such it had the same effect with the water of jealousy, it made their bellies swell, and their beards, as some have fabled, turn yellow; but this conjecture has no support. The design was to convince them, how vile a thing this idol was, which was gone into their draught, and mixed with their excrements. CHAP. VI.

The excuse made by Aaron, when he was questioned about his behaviour in this matter, has given some trouble to expositors; for he seems to urge in his defence, that he threw the gold into the fire without any ill intention; and without meddling any further with it, out it came in the form of a calf; which made our Dr. Jackson think it more than probable, that there was some magical or demoniacal skill practised in the sudden molting of this idol, which very much increased the people's superstition to it; for what else, says he, would Aaron mean by these words, *I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf*, than, that there was some secret invisible operation whereby it was moulded into this form in an instant, which raised the people's devotion to it. This learned man falls

BOOK V. into the opinion of some Jews who go a great deal further, and imagine, that the Devil entered into the idol, and made it roar like a bull, to carry a greater awe and terror with it. But these seem to be conceits invented for the excuse of Aaron, who in the history is said plainly to have made this molten calf, which he could not have done without designing it, and running the gold into a mould of this figure. The Jews to this day are very solicitous to palliate this idolatry of their ancestors, but with little success, as appears from a proverb for many ages received among them, that "all the miseries "that have befallen them are morsels of the golden "calf."

CHAP. VII.

The golden calves erected by Jeroboam at Dan and Beth-el.

1 Kings xii. 20, &c. THE calves set up by Jeroboam have so near a relation to that of the wilderness, that this seems to be a proper place to give an account of them; for the idolatry was altogether the same both in its form and matter, though the cause be somewhat different. The history of this transaction is thus related in scripture. God, to punish Solomon for having turned his heart to the idols of his foreign women, suffered that flourishing state which he had governed as king, to be torn to pieces at the beginning of the reign of Rehoboam his son; Jeroboam, one of his ministers, having found means to make ten of the tribes revolt against him, which remained thus divided from the rest till the destruction of the whole country by the kings of Assyria and Chaldea. This revolted prince, when he was

fixed upon the throne, easily foresaw that he would soon lose both his crown and subjects, if he suffered the people, who were particularly bound to go up to Jerusalem, at the great festivals, to perform their worship in that place. The splendour and magnificence of the temple, the majesty of religion, the address of the priests concerned to bring back the schismatics, and the threatenings and power of the king, he was afraid would ruin his designs. And therefore, to prevent these inconveniences, he made two calves of gold, and set them up, the one in Dan and the other in Beth-el, the first being on the north side, and the second to the south of the frontiers of Judæa; where he commanded his subjects to offer their sacrifices and devotions. Beth-el was, in the general opinion, esteemed as a sacred place, having been consecrated by Jacob, when God appeared to him there more than once; and Dan had been famous for the teraphim of Micah, unto which there was a public resort of the people: for these reasons, it is supposed, he waved his royal city, which was Shechem, and chose these two places for the residence of the divine Majesty, for so he pretended that these calves represented the true God, who brought their fathers out of Egypt, whom he did not forsake, but worship in these symbols of his presence. CHAP. VII.

It is observed, by the learned Bochart, that one egg is not more like to another, than these calves were to that which was made by Aaron in the wilderness, only, as the Jews say, till the time of Jeroboam the Jews sucked but one calf, but from that time they sucked two: and this idolatry, it is probable, came likewise from Egypt, where Jero-

BOOK V. boam had lived a considerable time with the king of Tosakim, whilst he was banished the court of Solomon and his country. These calves are spoken of by the prophet Hosea in the feminine gender, who calls them *heifers*, or *young cows;* the Septuagint say, Jeroboam made two golden heifers, and so does Josephus, he made two heifers of gold, and consecrated to them two temples. But most of the ancient interpreters conceive that the historians made use of this expression signifying a female, only to render the worship of the idols the more contemptible; and say, that these calves were made in imitation of the Egyptians, who had a couple of oxen which they worshipped; *apis* at Memphis, the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and *mnevis* at Hierapolis, which was the chief city of the lower.

Hos. x. 11. 1 Kings xii. 28. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.

The leader of the rebels, as well as the idolaters in the wilderness, proclaimed before the idols upon the feast of their consecration; "These are thy "gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land "of Egypt;" as if he had said, God is every where in his essence, and cannot be included in any place; he dwells among you here as well as at Jerusalem, and if you inquire any symbols of his presence, behold here they are in these calves which I have set up: for they could not be so stupid as to believe that the idols taken just before out of the furnace had been their deliverers so many ages before. It is evident, that the worship of these calves was not looked upon by the sacred writers, and by the prophets, as an absolute Pagan idolatry, but only as a schism, which was indeed very criminal in itself, but did not come up to the degree of a total apostasy; for the history of the revolt of the ten tribes intro-

duces Jeroboam speaking not like a person whose intention was to make the people change their religion, but as representing to them, that the true God being every where, was not confined to any certain place, and therefore they might pay their devotions to him as well in Dan and Beth-el, as at Jerusalem.

The worship offered before these images, it is supposed, was in imitation of the ceremonies of the Mosaic law, or had it been otherwise, God would have reproached them with it by his prophets, which that he did, does nowhere appear: it is only to be observed, that Jeroboam altered the day of the feast of the seventh month, (being the feast of Tabernacles,) which instead of its being celebrated upon the fifteenth day of the seventh month, he transferred to the fifteenth day of the following month. So says the text, *he offered upon the altar that he had made in Beth-el the fifteenth day of the eighth month, in the month which he had devised of his own heart; and ordained a feast, and offered upon the altar, and burnt incense.* 1 Kings xii. 33. Had he introduced any other alterations, they would questionless have been mentioned in the history. The sacred writ says, *in the month he had devised,* but does not say, he devised the feast, or ceremonies of the feast, which is generally believed he appointed to be celebrated every year at Beth-el, in the same manner as the feast of Tabernacles was at Jerusalem; but the most forcible argument to prove that he made no alteration in the worship is thus stated: Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, having carried into captivity the ten tribes, sent into their country a colony of Assyrians and Chaldeans, who 2 Kings xvii. 26, 27.

BOOK V. carried along with them their idols, and worshipped them; but the king being informed they were devoured by lions, because they did not worship the god of the country, he commanded one of the priests whom they brought from Samaria to be carried thither, and he dwelt in Beth-el, and taught them how they should fear the Lord. This expedient succeeded so well, that the inhabitants were no more a prey to the wild beasts; which is thought a convincing argument that the Samaritans worshipped the true God, who had put them in possession of that country, and that it was by the same manner of worship they had received from Moses, otherwise this worship could not have been prevailing with God to withdraw the lions from among them.

The priests of the family of Aaron, and the Levites, who had their cities and abodes among the ten revolted tribes, to avoid joining in the schism, retired most of them into the dominions of the king of Judah, which proving a great additional strength to the house of David, gave Jeroboam an opportunity of seizing their cities and estates, whereby he eased the people of paying their tithes, there being none to demand them, so he gratified them by making priests out of every tribe and family, even in the extreme part of the country. Thus as he transferred the kingdom from the house of David, so he removed the priesthood from the family of Aaron, and let it loose, that any body might be admitted to that honourable employment. This raised his popularity, and, no doubt, ingratiated him with the Israelites; and it is supposed, as he had priests, so he had Levites also of the same

stamp; that is, some to serve under the priests as they did, but, in opposition to the established rule, these lower officers always ministered in black vestments. The pontificate and supremacy over this schismatical priesthood, he reserved in his own hands; for the temple he erected to enclose his calves, and the altars he built for sacrifices, he consecrated himself, and presumed to perform the highest part of the priest's office, which was to burn incense. These idols were at length destroyed by the kings of Assyria; the calf in Beth-el was carried to Babylon, with other spoils, by Shalmaneser, and the other in Dan was seized by Tiglah-Pileser, about ten years before, in the invasion which he made upon Galilee, in which province the city stood.

CHAP. VIII.

Gideon's ephod.

THE ephod made by Gideon with the spoil of the Midianites became after his death an object of idolatry. It is supposed to have been a long vest, much like the ephod of the high priest, made of purple, gold, crimson, and fine linen, and splendidly adorned with precious stones; but the use of this ephod is not so easy to discover. St. Austin believed it was made in imitation of the ephod of the high priest, and by it must be understood all the vessels of the holy place, as if Gideon had made the ephod, and all belonging to it, that is, a tabernacle, and all the holy vessels; so that himself and family, and all the Israelites, sacrificed in Ophrah, near the tabernacle which he had built. Thus they

Judges viii. 22, &c.

Quæst. lib. vii.

BOOK V. did not worship the idols, but worshipped God in another place and another tabernacle, and served him with other vessels than the holy vessels he had appointed, which was a plain rebellion: but this father is singular in this opinion; and I find that of the Jews carries much more probability in it, that Gideon made this ephod for a monument of his victory over the Midianites. It was, says a rabbi, to be a monument of the great deliverance of Israel, and to shew how great was the strength of their vanquished enemies, that great mass of gold which was in the ephod being made only with the earrings of the prisoners. This is much more probable; and it is possible that Gideon might have a pious and devout intention in setting up this trophy in memory of his miraculous destruction of two hundred thousand of his enemies, by three hundred men only armed with empty pitchers and lamps in them.

Jarchi in locum.

But this conjecture is found not to be well supported in every part of it; for the rabbi above pretends that Gideon put into this ephod all the gold that was taken from the Midianites, to shew how great was the multitude of the subdued enemies, when of their earrings alone so great a piece of work was made. The weight of those rings was a thousand seven hundred shekels. The Hebrew shekel weighed about four drachms, or half an ounce: if you reduce seventeen hundred half ounces into pounds, the whole will amount to forty-two or forty-three pounds of gold. Now it is hard to conceive how much gold could come into one garment, the ground of which was certainly scarlet, purple, and fine linen. Besides, there were other rings,

boxes of perfumes, collars, and many more particulars of greater weight, perhaps than the earrings, which all seem to have been put into the ephod. And St. Austin supposes it to be of massy gold, because the text saith, *Gideon set it up*; as if it were meant by it, that this garment stood up of itself, because it was not cloth or stuff, but a melted matter into the form of a garment or cloke: but the most easy interpretation is this, that Gideon took part of the spoils, and made of them the ephod, to preserve the memory of his victory, and reserved the rest for the use of his house, which from that time was a rich and considerable family in Israel; for the reader may observe that it is said, *he made an ephod thereof*, that is, out of this offering, not that it was all spent upon it.

If it be inquired why Gideon should choose a kind of raiment for a monument, and not have erected a pillar, or caused some huge heap of stones to be raised, which, being the practice of those times, might have preserved the memory of his victory? it is supposed by some, that instead of setting up a pillar, and hanging up trophies, he chose to make an ephod as a reason that he ascribed his success only to God, and triumphed in nothing but only the restoration of the true religion, which he accomplished by his victories: besides, this ephod, or gown of Gideon's, is thought to be the signal of battle, and military ensign to the armies, under which the soldiers met: if it be so, it is not to be wondered if Gideon, to preserve the memory of the defeat of the Midianites, made choice of that which was the signal and standard under which the soldiers had fought.

BOOK V. But how this ephod of Gideon became an idol, and perverted to the purposes of false worship, is not so easy to determine; the most favourable opinion is, that the people, after his death, returned to idolatry, and had this fancy among others, that God would answer them where this ephod was, as well as at the tabernacle in Shiloh; but others suppose that Gideon having consecrated to God this ephod, as a standing monument of his victory, his religion required that this piece so consecrated should be laid up in the tabernacle, as the general custom was among all nations, that the gifts made to the gods were usually brought into their temples, to hang there. The sword of Goliath was accordingly placed in the tabernacle, and David found it there. This ephod therefore should have been in Shiloh, where the service of God was then settled, but from a principle of vanity he set up this consecrated ephod in his own town; however, both he and all the people looked upon it as a precious remain dedicated to that God who had so wonderfully delivered them from the hand of Midian, and probably he celebrated, in the very place where he set this ephod, some solemn feast of thanksgiving, for so great a victory, of which this ephod was a monument, and built a tabernacle, or a temple, for it: for the scripture does not say, he put it in his house, but in his city, which may signify that he raised a building to put it in, and built an altar for it, where he offered sacrifice and celebrated such feasts as he appointed; and probably he looked upon it as a symbol of the divine presence, much like to the ark of God, or the ephod of the high priest: and the people met there, not only upon the festival days, but also at

1 Sam. xxi. 9.

other times, to perform their devotion to the honour of God; for it cannot be supposed that Gideon should be guilty either of committing himself, or suffering others to commit such an instance of idolatry, as to worship that cloth of scarlet and gold, which he had caused to be woven. This worship proved unacceptable, and occasioned the ruin of himself and family; for though it was not strictly idolatrous, yet it was schismatical, God having appointed the tabernacle for the place of his worship, and therefore the sacrifices made, and the feasts celebrated any where else, could not be acceptable, though possibly, for some time, they might be indulged by him. CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. IX.

Micah's images, and teraphim.

IT is commonly said by the Jews, that idolatry was introduced into Israel by a woman: this person was a rich widow, the mother of one Micah an Ephramite; she had, it seems, devoted, or consecrated to a holy use, a sum of money amounting to eleven hundred shekels of silver; but before it was applied to the purpose she designed, she was robbed of it by her own son, who after some time ingenuously confessed the theft, and restored the money. She immediately forgave the fraud, and delivered the money to him again, who by her direction, and for the convenience of himself and family, contrived a place for divine worship at his own home, in imitation of the house of God at Shiloh, and provided furniture that he thought proper for the uses of devotion. Accordingly two hundred Judges xvii. 7, &c.

BOOK V. shekels he applied for the making a graven image, and a molten image, that he might make some resemblance of God whereby to worship him at his own house, without the trouble, upon all occasions, of going up to the tabernacle; for he did not intend to forsake the God of Israel, but only to pay adoration to him by an image. It is not certain whether this silver was melted by the founder, and then the images were made of it, or that for this sum of money the images were sold, made perhaps of brass, and silvered over; and this is more probable, because they would have been very small, if they had been made only of two hundred shekels. Some have imagined, that these figures were a representation of the two cherubims which covered the ark: but this seems to be a wild conjecture; for these images were of different kinds, the one graven and the other molten, but it is certain the cherubims were both alike.

That the divine service in his house might, in some measure, resemble the holy offices of the tabernacle, he makes with the rest of the money an ephod, as a sacerdotal garment for the priest to wear whom he designed to appoint; and set up an oracle or teraphim, by which the priest in his ephod and other habiliments, should inquire of God; for they were a sort of images whereby the eastern people consulted the deity, and hoped to receive answers from him. His eldest son he ordained for his priest, and then having met with a young Levite, that was begging about the country, he took him into his house, promised him a yearly salary of ten shekels, and a winter and summer suit of clothes, and with great presumption consecrated him

a priest, who by the law was absolutely incapable of the priestly office; but this chapel was robbed by a party of the tribe of Dan, who violently carried away the furniture of it, and enticed the priest along with them; the images, the ephod, and the teraphim, they set up in the city of Dan, where afterwards Jeroboam fixed one of his calves, and there they continued till the ark of God was taken by the Philistines. Judges xviii. 31.

It is to be observed here, that this false worship continued in this place, notwithstanding the zeal of many Judges who were good men and great reformers, but could not extend their authority to the very skirts of the country, where idolatry still lurked in this corner of the land. But God made use of the Philistines as instruments to put an end to it; for when they destroyed Shiloh, where the true house of God was, they subverted this *house of gods*, as it is called, which they esteemed as a resemblance of it. And perhaps, as the ark was brought into the field against the Philistines, so the Danites brought these images with the ephod and teraphim, and the priest who was slain with Hophni and Phinehas, or, as Huetius conceives, carried captive into the land of the Philistines, with a great many other Israelites. But this place remained still so famous, for the resort of people thither to worship, that when Jeroboam set up his golden calves, he erected one of them here in Dan, as another in Beth-el; where there having been a real appearance of God in ancient time to Jacob, the people were easily made to believe there had been the like in Dan, in the time here mentioned.

CHAP. X.

The Samaritan temple upon mount Gerizim.

BOOK V. THE defection or schism of the ten tribes is sufficiently related in the sacred writings, and may properly be divided into three periods: the first, from the time of Jeroboam to the transportation of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser; the second, from the time of their transportation to their return from their captivity; and the third, from their return to the appearance of Christ. Jeroboam chose Shechem for the place of his residence, which from thence was transferred by his successors to Samaria, and has given the origin to the name of the Samaritans. The places appointed for their worship were Dan and Beth-el, where they set up their golden calves, and established a kind of devotion in resemblance of the divine service performed at the temple at Jerusalem. But as this Samaritan worship was not the same with that of Jerusalem, but different in ceremonials, and intermixed besides with some Pagan ceremonies, it is doubted whether this was a simple schism in the first period, or an actual heresy and idolatry.

The second period takes its beginning with the time of the carrying away of the ten tribes into captivity. After which the kings of Assyria, in order to repeople the country, sent thither colonies of men of divers nations and different idolatries; and so the country fell into a medley of religion, in some things resembling the Jewish, and in others the worship of the heathen. For their idolatries the vengeance of God sent lions among them, who having devoured some of them, because they wor-

shipped not the God of that country, they addressed themselves to the king of Assyria, who sent them a priest to instruct them in the service of the true God, which they embraced, yet not so as to abandon altogether their ancient idolatry, which mixture of God's service and the worship of idols continued thus till the return of the Jews out of their captivity. 2 Kings xvii.

The governors of Samaria did all, what in them lay, to obstruct the reedifying of the temple at Jerusalem, which proved the occasion of that mortal hatred between the Jews and Samaritans which continues to this day. Nevertheless, the Jews intermarrying with the Samaritan women, and by degrees contracting a more intimate correspondence with them, by the mutual intermixture of these two people, the divine worship was, in process of time, in some measure purged from their former errors, and the Samaritans banished idolatry from among them. Among those who had married a Samaritan was one Manasseh, who espoused the daughter of Sanballat. The story is fully related by Josephus to this purpose. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8.

Manasses the brother of Jaddua the high priest had married Nicasso the daughter of Sanballat, which thing the elders of the Jews resenting as a violation of their laws, and as an introduction to strange marriages, they urged that either he should put away his wife, or be degraded from the priesthood: and accordingly Jaddua his brother drove him away from the altar, that he should not sacrifice. Upon this Manasses addressing himself to his father-in-law Sanballat, tells him, that it was true indeed that he loved his daughter Nicasso most

BOOK V. dearly, but he would not lose his function for her sake, it being hereditary to him by descent, and honourable among his nation. To this Sanballat replied, that he could devise such a course, as that he should not only continue to enjoy his priesthood, but also obtain a high priesthood, and be made a primate and metropolitan of a whole country, upon condition that he would keep his daughter, and not put her away; for he would build a temple upon mount Gerizim over Sichem, like the temple at Jerusalem, and this by the consent of Darius, who was now monarch of the Persian empire. Manasses embraced such hopes and promises, and remained with his father-in-law, thinking to obtain a high priesthood from the king: and whereas many of the priests and people at Jerusalem were intricated in the like marriages, they fell away to Manasses, and Sanballat provided them lands, houses, and subsistence: but Darius the king being overthrown by Alexander the Great, Sanballat revolted to the conqueror, did him homage, and submitted himself and his dominions to him; and having now a proper opportunity he made his petition, and obtained it, of building this his temple. That which forwarded his request was, that Jaddua the high priest at Jerusalem had incurred Alexander's displeasure for denying him help and assistance at the siege of Tyre. Sanballat pleaded that he had a son-in-law, named Manasses, brother to Jaddua, to whom very many of the Jews were well affected, and had recourse; and might he but have liberty to build a temple in mount Gerizim, it would be a great weakening to Jaddua, for by that means the people would have a fair invitation to revolt from

him. Alexander easily condescended to his request, CHAP. X.
and so he set about the building with all possible expedition. When it was finished, it made a great apostasy at Jerusalem, for many that were accused and indicted for eating forbidden meats, for violating the sabbath, or for other crimes, fled away from Jerusalem to Sichem and to mount Gerizim, and that became a common sanctuary for offenders. Thus far the historian. This temple was five years a building, after the model of that at Jerusalem, and remained standing about two hundred years, when it was laid desolate by Hircanus, king of the Jews, about an hundred and thirty years before the nativity of Christ. It is difficult to determine whether this temple was afterwards rebuilt.

CHAP. XI.

The principles of the Samaritans.

THE religious principles of the old Samaritans have been mentioned in general, in the beginning of these Antiquities, but in this place they ought more particularly to be explained. It must be observed therefore that the Samaritans received no other scripture but the Pentateuch, rejecting the prophets and all other books that are in the Jewish canon. The five books of Moses they have still among them, written in the old Hebrew and Phœnician character, which was in use before the Babylonish captivity, from whence they boast that theirs is the true authentic copy, and that the copy made by Ezra was a transcript from theirs. The Samaritan Pentateuch has occasioned great disputes among learned men,

BOOK V. some placing its antiquity long before the captivity of Babylon, and others insisting that it was introduced among the Samaritans, by Manasseh, and the apostate Jews that followed him; and because the old Phœnician character was that only which the Samaritans were used to, they caused this law for their sakes to be written out in that character, and in this they have retained it ever since. That great critic, father Simon, seems to have cleared this difficulty, and delivers his sentiments in this manner:

Critical Hist. of the Old Test. b. 1. c. 10.

There happened, under Rehoboam the son of Solomon, a schism among the Israelites, which divided them into two kingdoms; one of these kingdoms was called Judah, and contained those who remained at Jerusalem, steadfast to Rehoboam, and the family of David, the others preserved the ancient name of Israelites, and left Jerusalem under the conduct of Jeroboam. The capital of their kingdom was Samaria, whence they have been called Samaritans. This schism having weakened the republic of the Hebrews, Salmanassar king of Assyria conquered Samaria, and sent all the people captive into remote countries, and at the same time planted in their places colonies of Babylonians, Cutheans, and other idolaters; but these finding themselves devoured by lions and other beasts, demanded an Israelitish priest, to teach them the law and customs of the country they came to inhabit, which was granted them; and this priest taught them the law of Moses, and it is probable that he brought them a copy of the law he was to teach them.

As the ten tribes who followed Jeroboam's side did not make an entire apostasy from the religion of the Hebrews, they had without doubt preserved

the law of Moses; and it is this law which the priest, sent by Salmanassar, taught the inhabitants of this new colony, who were no more troubled with the beasts, which before devoured them. It is true, the people retained something of their old idolatry; but that hindered not but that they also observed the law of Moses, and offered sacrifices according to the ceremonies of this law, though they offered others according to their ancient superstition. However it was with these Samaritans, it is certain that they who are now so called have the five books of Moses writ in the Hebrew tongue, and in the ancient Hebrew characters, which are now called Samaritan; they have preserved nothing of their idolatry; on the contrary, they observe the law of Moses more after the letter than the Jews, and the explanation of the glosses contained in the Talmud, and which the Jews exactly follow, are altogether unknown to them. They have no other canonical books but the Pentateuch, because all the other sacred books which are in the Jewish canon were certainly not published in the time when they made their schism, and that is the reason that they acknowledge nothing for divine and authentic, but the law of Moses. CHAP. XI.

We cannot certainly be assured that the Cutheans and other people, who came to inhabit Samaria, had copies of the law, because the priest, who was sent to them, might have taught them it with the ceremonies of Moses, without giving them copies of a law which they could not have understood, it being written in a language which was altogether strange to them, and in characters of which they had no knowledge; but when they had quitted their ancient

BOOK V. idolatry, and had built a temple on the mountain Gerizim, where they offered sacrifices as the Jews did at Jerusalem, it was necessary they should have the five books of Moses; and the agreement that is between their ancient copy and that of the Jews, makes me think that at that time they did but copy that of the Jews, and that the differences which are at present proceed from transcribers, excepting some words which have been changed on purpose to maintain their own opinions and prejudices.

As for the ancient Hebrew characters which are pretended to be kept by the Samaritans, one cannot from thence certainly conclude that they have preserved the ancient Hebrew copy of the law: as soon as they had a temple and the books of Moses, they writ them in their ordinary characters, as they yet write the Arabic in these ancient Samaritan letters: this custom has likewise spread itself over other nations of the Levant; and we see that the Syrians, whether Jacobites, or Maronites, or Nestorians, write the Arabian language in Syriac characters: the Jews of Constantinople likewise write the Persian, the Arabic, the vulgar Greek, and the Spanish, in Hebrew characters, as appears from two tetraple Pentateuchs which they have printed in all those languages at Constantinople. The German Jews likewise often write the high Dutch in Hebrew characters; wherefore the characters alone are not a sufficient proof to shew, that the Samaritans having preserved the ancient manner of writing, which was used before the captivity, have likewise preserved the ancient books without any change. Upon the whole, we may conclude that the Samaritans not having faithfully translated the Hebrew text in

some places, we ought to have recourse to the Jew- CHAP. X.
ish copy, which nevertheless hinders us not from correcting sometimes the Hebrew text of the Jews by the Samaritan. They are two copies from the same original, each of which having its failures and perfections, the one may properly serve to assist the other. So much is judiciously observed by the French critic.

Besides the Pentateuch in the original Hebrew, the Samaritans have also another in the language that was vulgarly spoken among them; for as the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, degenerated in their language, from the Hebrew to the Babylonish dialect, so the Samaritans did the same: whether this happened by their bringing this dialect out of Assyria with them, when they first came to plant in Samaria, or that they first fell into it by conforming themselves to the speech of those Phœnician and Syrian nations, who lived next them, or else had it from the mixture of those Jews who revolted to them with Manasseh, is difficult to determine; and therefore as the Jews, for the sake of the vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar language, were forced to make Chaldee versions of the scriptures, which they call the Targums or Chaldee Paraphrases, so the Samaritans were forced for the same reason to do the same thing, and to make a version of their Pentateuch into the vulgar Samaritan, which is called the Samaritan version. This translation is not made like the Chaldee among the Jews, by way of paraphrase, but generally by an exact rendering of the text word for word. Not but there are some variations and additions, which either happened by the errors of the transcribers.

BOOK V. or were designedly inserted by the Samaritans, the better to support their cause against the Jews.

Another difference in religion, between the Samaritans and the Jews, relates to the receiving of traditions, which are strenuously embraced by the Jews, but rejected by the Samaritans, who abide firmly by the written word; but what engaged them in the most violent contests was the dispute concerning the place where they ought to worship, the one contending for the temple at Jerusalem, and the other for that upon mount Gerizim: here, the Samaritans urge, were altars erected, and sacrifices offered by Abraham and Jacob; and therefore this
Deut. xxvii. 2. hill was appointed by God himself to be the place of blessing, when the Israelites came out of Egypt; and accordingly Joshua, when he entered the land of Canaan, caused the divine blessing to be declared upon it: here likewise he built an altar upon it, of twelve stones, when he had passed the river Jordan, in obedience to what God had commanded by Moses: and this, they contend, is the very altar upon which they still sacrifice on that mountain to this day. But to defend this last part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to mount Gerizim, they have been guilty of great prevarication in corrupting the text; for whereas the command is, that they should set up the altar
Deut. xxvii. 4. upon mount Ebal, they have made a sacrilegious change in the text, and instead of mount Ebal have inserted mount Gerizim, the better to support their cause by it. These mountains are in the tribe of Ephraim, near Samaria, and in the valley between them lieth Sichem; but St. Jerome asserts positively, that neither of them were the Gerizim and Ebal of

the holy scriptures; for these, he contends, were two small hills lying near Jericho; but this opinion receives no countenance from learned men. CHAP. XI.

The Jews accuse the Samaritans of two instances of idolatry committed in this place; the first, that they worshipped the image of a dove, and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain teraphims, or idol gods, that were hid under that mountain. The first accusation (says the Samaritan Chronicle) is founded upon this, that in the time of Adrian a figure of a pigeon was set upon this mountain, which made itself heard when any Samaritan came there to worship: but it is more probable that this charge was first occasioned by the idolatry of the Assyrians; for that people having adored Semiramis under the image of a dove, the Jews reproached the Samaritans, as worshippers of the same image, because they descended from them, and possibly they were so while they worshipped there other gods with the God of Israel, but never afterwards. As to the second charge, it is true that Jacob buried the teraphim, or idol gods, that Rachel had stolen, under the oak in Shechem, which they suppose to have been at the foot of mount Gerizim, and from hence, because the Samaritans worshipped in that place, the Jews suggest, that the Samaritans worshipped there upon the account of these idols, and paid adoration to them: but both these charges are malicious calumnies; for after the law of Moses had been brought among them by Manasseh, the Samaritans zealously worshipped the true God, and as sincerely abhorred idolatry, as the most rigorous of the Jews, and so continue to this day.

CHAP. XII.

The Samaritan creed.

BOOK V. TO omit nothing that concerns the religion of the Samaritans, I have two things to subjoin before I conclude this subject, which, though not strictly relating to the old professors among that sect, will yet be of use to a more exact discovery of their principles. The first is a confession of faith, sent by Eleazar the high priest, in the name of the synagogue of Sichem, to the great Scaliger, who applied to him for that purpose; the other is a letter sent from the Samaritans at Shechem to their brethren in England, by the hands of Dr. Huntington, sometime chaplain to the Turkey company at Aleppo, and afterwards bishop of Rapho in Ireland, who, it seems, had informed them that there were some of the sect of the Samaritans then abiding in London.

The Samaritan creed.

1. The Samaritans observe the sabbath with all the exactness required in Exodus; for none of them goes out of the place where he is on the sabbath day, but only go to the synagogue, where they read the law, and sing God's praises. They do not lie that night with their wives, and neither kindle nor order fire to be kindled; whereas the Jews transgress the sabbath in all these points: for they go out of town, have fire made, lie with their wives, and even do not wash themselves after it.

2. They hold the passover to be their first festival; they begin at sunset, by the sacrifice enjoined for that purpose in Exodus; but they sacrifice nowhere but on mount Gerizim, where they read the

law, and offer prayers to God, after which the priest dismisses the whole congregation with a blessing. CHAP. XII.

3. They celebrate for seven days together the feast of the harvest, but they do not agree with the Jews concerning the day that it ought to begin; for these reckon the next day after the solemnity of the passover; whereas the Samaritans reckon fifty days, beginning the next day after the sabbath, which happens in the week of the unleavened bread, and the next day after the seventh sabbath following, the feast of the harvest begins.

4. They observe the feast of expiation the tenth of the seventh month; they employ the four and twenty hours of the day in prayers to God, and singing his praises, and fasting. For all except sucking children fast, whereas the Jews except children under seven years of age.

5. The fifteenth of the same month, they celebrate the feast of the tabernacles upon the same mount Gerizim.

6. They never defer circumcision further than the eighth day, as it is commanded in Genesis, whereas the Jews defer it sometimes longer.

7. They are obliged to wash themselves in the morning, when they have lain with their wives, or have been sullied in the night by some uncleanness, and all vessels that may become unclean become so when they touch them before they have washed.

8. They take away the fat from sacrifices, and give the priests the shoulder, the jaws, and the belly.

9. They never marry their nieces, as the Jews do, and have but one wife, whereas the Jews may have many.

BOOK V. 10. They believe in God, in Moses, and in mount Gerizim. Whereas, say they, the Jews put their trust in others, we do nothing but what is expressly commanded in the law by the Lord, who made use of the ministry of Moses; but the Jews swerve from what the Lord hath commanded in the law, to observe what their fathers and doctors have invented.

Anno 1590. Eleazar added to this, that they reckoned a hundred twenty-two high priests from Aaron to their time; they have a catalogue and succession of them. They believe themselves to be of the posterity of Joseph by Ephraim, and that all their high priests descend from Phinehas; whereas the Jews have not one of that family. They boast that they have preserved the Hebrew characters, which God made use of to promulgate his law; whereas the Jews have a way of writing from Ezra, which is cursed for ever. And indeed, instead of looking upon Ezra as the restorer of the law, they curse him as an impostor, who hath laid aside their old characters to use new ones in their room; and authorized several books that were written to support the posterity of David.

Several attempts have been made to convert these Samaritans; but they have been oppressed instead of being made Christians, and they are reduced to a small number rather by misery than by the multitude of those that have been converted. Nay, they seem more stubbornly wedded to their sect than the Jews, though these adhere very stiffly to the law of Moses. At least Nicon, who lived after the twelfth century, setting down the formalities used at the reception of heretics, observes, that if a Jew had a mind to be converted, to avoid the punishment or payment of what he owed, he was to purify himself,

Cotelet. Monum. t. iii. p. 422.

and satisfy his creditors before he was admitted. But as for the Samaritans, they were not received before they had been instructed two years, and they were required to fast ten or fifteen days before they professed the Christian religion, and to be morning and evening at prayers, and to learn some psalms; others were not used with so much rigour. The term of two years that were enjoined to the Samaritan proselytes is an argument that they were suspected, and the reason why they were so, was, that they had often deceived the Christians by their pretended conversion.

CHAP. XIII.

A letter of the Samaritans at Sichem, to their brethren in England.

IN the name of the almighty adorable God, in the name of the great Lord, who is by himself, our God, the God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who has said in his law, I am the God of Beth-el, the supreme God, Lord of heaven and earth, God Almighty, who has sent Moses the son of Amram commissioned with his laws, and by his means has revealed the holiness of mount Gerizim, and of the house of God.

We salute you, O synagogue of Israel, the people of our Lord and Master, who has chosen this people above all nations of the earth, for you are a people holy to the Lord. We call ourselves Samaritans, and we assure you, our brethren in Israel, that we are extremely devoted to Moses the prophet, and to the holy law. We observe the sabbath, as God has commanded. For on that day, nobody moves out of

BOOK V. his place, except it be to pay his devotions at the house of the Lord. As all those who sought God went to the tabernacle of witness, we do nothing there but read the law, praise God, and pay him our thanksgivings; and whereas the Jews ride on horseback, go out of the city, light fires on that day, and lie with their wives, we separate ourselves the night of the sabbath, and light no fire. The Jews do not wash for every kind of pollution, but we do, and purify ourselves thereby. We pray to God evening and morning, according to the command he has given us, You shall offer me a lamb in the morning, and another lamb between the two evenings. We lie upon the ground when we worship God, before mount Gerizim, the house of God.

We have seven solemn feasts wherein we assemble; the first is the feast of the passover, at the time that our fathers came out of Egypt. We sacrifice the lamb the fourteenth day of the first month, at evening, a little before sun-setting, and eat it roasted with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. We make this sacrifice only upon mount Gerizim, and we prepare it on the first day of the month Nisan, according to the Greeks. We reckon seven days for the feast of unleavened bread, on six whereof we eat bread without leaven; on the seventh we go early at break of day to mount Gerizim, to celebrate the feast and read the law. When prayers are ended, the priest gives the blessing to the people from the top of the eternal mountain. We do not begin to reckon the fifty days of the feast of harvest like the Jews, from the morrow of the feast of the passover, but we reckon them from the day following the sabbath that happens in the feast of unleavened bread,

till the morrow of the seventh sabbath, on which we celebrate the feast of the harvest upon Gerizim: we celebrate also the seventh month, which begins with the feast of trumpets. Ten days after is that of propitiations, in which we sing hymns, and say prayers, from one day to the other, night and day. The women and children fast as well as the men, and we dispense with none but those that suck, whereas the Jews dispense with all under seven years old. We observe the feast of tabernacles upon mount Gerizim the fifteenth of the seventh month. We set up tabernacles according to the order given us by God, *Ye shall take the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook.* We spend seven days in joy under these tents, and on the eighth we end the feast of the Lord with an hymn. CHAP. XIII. Lev. xxiii. 40.

We very circumspectly observe, whether the conjunction of the sun and moon happens in the night, or in the day before noon. If it happens before noon, that day is the first of the month; but if it happens at twelve o'clock or a little after, we delay the beginning of the month till the morrow. If the conjunction be lunary, the month continues twenty-nine days, but thirty, if it be solary. If the new moon falls on the eleventh of the month Adar of the Greeks, we intercalate a month, and we reckon thirteen that year; and the month that immediately follows is the first month of that year. But if the month begins on the twelfth of Adar, or some days after, then that is the first month of the year, and we reckon but twelve; for the week of unleavened bread must be in the month Nisan. The Jews reckon otherwise than we. We begin the sabbatic

BOOK V. year and the jubilee from the first day of the seventh month.

We sprinkle the water of separation the third and fourth day, upon all that are defiled by the contact of women; and we sprinkle it seven days upon the woman that has an issue upon her. The woman who is delivered of a boy separates only forty-one days, and eighty if it be a girl. The circumcision is exactly made the eighth day after the birth, without deferring it one single day, as do the Jews. We purify ourselves from the defilements contracted in sleep; and we touch none of the unclean things specified in the law, without washing in clean water. We offer to God the fat of the victim, and give the priest the shoulder, the jaws, and the ventricle.

It is not lawful for us to marry a niece or cousin, as is done by the Jews. We believe in Moses and in mount Gerizim. We have priests of the race of Levi, descended in a right line from Aaron and Phinehas. We are all of the tribe of Joseph by Ephraim, Manasses, and of the tribe of Levi. Our habitation is in the holy city of Sichem and at Gaza. We have a copy of the law written in the time of grace, in which we read these words: "I Abishai "the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of "Aaron, have written this copy at the door of the "tabernacle, in the thirteenth year of the people of "Israel's entrance into the land of Canaan upon its "frontiers." We read this law in Hebrew, which is the holy tongue, and do nothing but according to the commands of God, given us by Moses, the son of Amram, our prophet, upon whom is peace for ever and ever.

We give you notice, that are our brethren chil-

dren of Israel, that R. Huntington, an uncircumcised, is arrived here from Europe, and has acquainted us, that you are a great people, composed of men pure and holy like ourselves, and that you have sent him to desire of us a copy of the law, to whom we would not give credit till he had written before us some characters of the holy language, in order to assure you that we have the same Mosaic religion that you profess. If we had not been willing to oblige you, we should not have sent a copy of the law by the hands of the uncircumcised, for that is a shame to us: nevertheless, we have committed it to him, with two other little books, that we might not absolutely deny your request. We also conjure you in the name of the living God not to deny ours, and to tell us what religion you are of; tell us what is the language you speak, the city you live in, the king that governs you, and what religion he professes. Have ye any priests of the race of Phinehas? Have ye only one priest? In the name of God tell us the truth, without any shadow of dissimulation, and send us a copy of the law, as we have sent you ours. Send us also some learned men, some prophets, some persons of repute, and especially some descendant of Phinehas; for know that God has chosen us children of Israel to be his people, and to live at Gerizim, according to what he has said, *You shall seek their habitation, and shall go there.* He has said also, *You shall keep three feasts every year, the males shall rejoice three times a year before the Lord.* Know also, that all the prophets are buried in the territories at Shechem, our father Joseph, Eleazar, Ithamar, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, the seventy elders, Eldad and Medad.

BOOK V. If you are willing to oblige us, acquaint us whether you are devoted to Moses and his law, to Gerizim and the house of God; and send us some persons without being concerned about the length of the journey. Do not intrust a Jew, for they hate us; if you send us any deputy, give us notice by some friend. If ye have the book of Joshua, and any liturgy, send up that also. Tell us what your law is; as for us, we call the law what begins with the first word of Genesis and ends with the last of Deuteronomy. Cause all this to be copied for us in the holy tongue, and tell by what name you go. We adjure you, by the name of the living God, not to suffer a year to run over your heads without giving us an answer. In the mean time we bless God, the Lord of heaven and earth, and we implore his mercy and his justice to instruct you in all that can please Him, and to guide you in the good way, Amen. May He preserve you, and deliver you from the hands of your enemies, and gather you together from your dispersions, into the land of your fathers, through the merits of Moses.

We add, that this is our faith. We believe in God, in Moses his servant, in the holy law, in mount Gerizim the house of God, and in the day of vengeance and peace. Blessed for ever be our God, and let his peace rest upon Moses the son of Amram, the righteous, perfect, pure, and faithful prophet.

We have written this letter at Sichem, near Gerizim, the fifteenth day of the sixth month, which is the twenty-seventh of the lunary month, in the six hundred and eleventh year of the creation of the world, according to the Greeks, the second from the year of rest. This year the seventh month will

begin the fourth of Elul, according to the Greeks; and the next year is the three thousand four hundred and eleventh from the entrance into the land of Canaan, God be blessed. CHAP. XIII.

May this letter, by the help of God, arrive into the city of England, to the synagogue of the Samaritan children of Israel, whom God preserve.

It is written by the synagogue of Israel dwelling at Sichem. Mechab the son of Jacob, a descendant of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, was the secretary.

CHAP. XIV.

A schismatical temple built by Onias in Egypt.

ABOUT a hundred and sixty years before the birth of Christ, there was another schismatical temple built in Egypt by Onias, a fugitive priest, who being disappointed of the pontificate at Jerusalem, to which he had a right by succession, was protected by Ptolomy Philometor and his queen, and had the principal management of the government during the latter end of that prince's reign. His power and interest with the king he made use of to obtain leave for the building of a temple in Egypt, after the model of that at Jerusalem, with a grant for himself and his descendants to officiate always as high-priest in it. For this purpose he wrote a letter to Ptolomy and Cleopatra his queen, which is related by Josephus in this manner:

"During the time that I was employed in your "wars, and by God's favourable assistance have "done you many services, I have visited Cœlosyria Antiq. lib. xiii. c. 6.

BOOK. V. " and Phœnicia; I have been in the city of Leonto-
" polis in the territories of Heliopolis; I have also
" seen many other places wherein the Jews have
" temples against all manner of right, which is the
" reason that they agree not among themselves;
" which is what has happened among the Egyptians
" through the multitude of temples, and the great
" diversity of religions; and having found out a
" very convenient place, near a castle called Bu-
" bastis, in the plain, where there is sufficient of all
" sorts of materials for building, and of beasts fit for
" sacrifice, I beseech you that it may be lawful for
" me to purify the temple that is levelled in that
" place with the ground, and dedicated to no sacred
" power; and that in the room of it, it may be law-
" ful for me to raise a temple in honour of the high-
" est God, according to the pattern, and the same
" dimensions of that temple which is in Jerusalem,
" for the preservation and prosperity both of you,
" your queen and children; and to the intent that
" those Jews, who dwell in Egypt, may assemble
" and serve God in it; for the more they are united
" among themselves, the more readily they will be
" disposed to your service. For to this effect is the
Isaiah xix. 18, 19. " prophecy of Isaiah which saith thus; *There shall*
" *be a temple of our Lord God in Egypt.* And
" many other things has the prophet foretold con-
" cerning this place."

The answer to this letter is thus recorded by the same historian.

" King Ptolomy and queen Cleopatra, to Onias the
" high priest, health. We have perused your letter,
" by which you request of us to give you leave to
" cleanse the temple that is defaced at Leontopolis

" under the prefecture of Heliopolis, in the place " called Bubastis, in the plain. We are much sur- " prised that a temple built in a place so unclean, " and full of execrable beasts, should be agreeable to " a God; but since you inform us that the prophet " Isaiah did long ago foretell the same, we give you " leave, if it may be done according to the law, and " with this condition, that we commit no sin against " the Deity."

CHAP. XIV.

The learned Cunæus has curiously remarked upon this occasion, that Onias sent a letter to Ptolomy and Cleopatra, wherein he accuses his countrymen because they had built sanctuaries in the Phœnician cities, and other places, contrary to the law; being himself guilty of no less a crime, having built a temple at Heliopolis, pretending the authority of the prophet Isaiah to countenance his ambitious enterprise. This, says he, could not be done without violation of the ceremonies; for it is thus decreed among the constitutions of the ancient Jews, which rabbi Moses, the Egyptian, delivers thus: if one has transgressed the law, and built another house besides the sanctuary at Jerusalem, it is not indeed to be accounted a temple of idols, but the priest that has served there can never sacrifice at the sanctuary of God which is at Jerusalem. Nay, the vessels which he has used no man shall apply to the offices of the true sanctuary, but they must be hid.

De Rep. Hebr. l. i. c. 8.

L. viii. in Hal. Biath. c. ult.

It must be observed, that the prediction in Isaiah was introduced by Onias, not only to influence the king in his favour; but to reconcile the Jews to this new scheme, whose fixed principle it was, that Jerusalem was the only place appointed for divine worship, and that it was criminal to offer sacrifice but

BOOK V. at the temple. The prophecy runs thus: *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; and shall be called, The city of destruction. In that day there shall be an altar unto the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof unto the Lord.* This prophecy (which had regard only to the future state of the gospel in that country) was perverted by Onias, as if it respected the times he lived in, and he prevailed with all the Jews that were in Egypt, to receive it in that acceptation; and indeed this temple in Egypt was always more favourably thought of by the Jews in Palestine, than that of the Samaritans upon mount Gerizim.

His design being approved by the king and the Jews in Egypt, he immediately set about the building, in the place before mentioned; which was about twenty-four miles from Memphis, where had formerly stood an old temple of Bubas, which is another name for Isis the great goddess of the Egyptians. This fabric was wholly neglected and demolished; and therefore Onias, having removed the ruins, raised his new temple upon the same spot. He made it exactly after the pattern of that at Jerusalem, though not altogether so high and magnificent; and there he placed an altar for burnt offerings, an altar of incense, a shewbread table, and all other utensils necessary for the Jewish service; only instead of the golden candlestick of seven branches, there was a lamp which hung before the altar by a golden chain, from the roof of the house. The area of the temple was surrounded with a high wall of brick, and the gates were of stone; he placed priests

and Levites, who had as much zeal and devotion as himself, to officiate in the service, who were plentifully maintained by a large revenue settled by the king; and from that time the divine worship was carried on in the same manner and order as in the temple at Jerusalem; till at last this temple was, at first, shut up, and afterwards wholly destroyed, by the command of Vespasian the Roman emperor, after it had stood about two hundred twenty-four, but according to Josephus, three hundred thirty and three years. CHAP. XIV.

CHAP. XV.

The gods of the Canaanites or Syrians; Baal-peor, Chemosh.

MR. SELDEN, in his learned treatise of the Syrian gods, takes notice of a goddess whom he calls Good Fortune, as the first idol mentioned in scripture, and worshipped by the Hebrews: this opinion is founded upon what Zilpah said when she was delivered of Gad, one of the sons of Jacob, *Behold a troop cometh;* which the Hebrew writers generally expound by *good fortune;* for so it seems that Gad may signify in the original; but the exposition which renders it, "I am come in a lucky hour," or as St. Chrysostom, "I have obtained my desire," is esteemed a more just interpretation, and meets with better reception from the best expositors. Syntag. Prim. c. 1. Gen. i. 30. In Gen. Hom. 56.

With this supposed deity, there is another joined by the prophet Isaiah, called *Meni, You prepare a table for Gad, and furnish the drink offerings unto Meni;* but many of the learned Hebrews will not allow this text to speak of a deity, but think that Chap. lxv. 11.

BOOK V. the prophet does here only upbraid the Israelites with their licentiousness. By Gad they mean *a troop*, and by Meni they understand *a number*; and thus Abarbinel interprets it in his commentary upon this place. Ye forget, says he, my holy mountain, because this mountain was desolate, and none mourned for it. All your care is to feast together, to kill beasts and eat their flesh, and to make rich compound liquors; because you prepare a table for your society, to give them wherewithal to eat till they are full, and you fill your mixed liquors for Meni, that is, you offer many cups of this delicious wine, according to your number of guests.

The Hebrews were soon perverted to idolatry, by the imitation of the Canaanites, or Syrians, among whom they dwelt, and fell into the worship of a filthy deity called Baal-peor, or Baal-phegor, a god of the Moabites and Midianites. They were seduced into this corruption by the women of those people, who enticed them by their charms, but refused to comply with their desires, unless they would eat of their sacrifices, worship their idols, and profess themselves votaries of their religion. This god of the Moabites is, by some, supposed to be the great Baal of the eastern nations, and the Jupiter of the Greeks and Romans, and that he was called Phegor from the mountain in which he was worshipped, as Jupiter took the name of Olympius from mount Olympus, and Dodonæus, from the forest Dodona. It is certain there was in the country of the Moabites a high hill called Pehor, as appears by the history of Balak and Balaam: but it is most probable, that the hill took its name from the god, and not the god from the hill; who is often called Pehor

Numb. xxv. 1, 2. &c.

Numb. xxiii. 28.

simply; which is an argument that it was his proper name, by which he was distinguished from the other Baals; I mean the other gods of the neighbouring nations.

It was the opinion of Mr. Selden, that Baal-phegor is the same with Pluto, which he grounded upon these words: *they joined themselves unto Baal-peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead.* By which sacrifices he means such as were offered to the infernal gods. But that is no sure foundation for this conjecture; for by the dead we ought to understand the gods that were taken from among men; for it was confessed by the heathens themselves, that most of their deities had been mortals who lived upon the earth.

Syntag. prim. c. 5.

Psal. cvi.

The constant tradition among the ancient and modern Hebrews was, that this idol was an obscene deity, whose figure, and the manner of worshipping it, was filthy and abominable. This opinion is supposed to be founded upon the words of the prophet Hosea; *They went to Baal-peor and separated themselves unto their shame:* from whence they collect, that this god was served by an obscene act, which required his worshippers to be uncovered before him. The adoration, says Maimonides, made to this idol called Pehor, consisted in discovering the secret parts before it. The law therefore commanded the priests to wear drawers when they sacrificed, and forbad them to get up to the altar by steps, lest their nakedness should happen to be uncovered. Solomon Jarchi goes further, and says, that Baal-pehor was so called, *eo quod distendebant coram eo foramen podicis et stercus offerebant;* but this is a ridiculous and groundless fancy, it being altogether inconsist-

Chap. ix. 10.

Ch. ix. 10.

More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 4. 6.

BOOK V. ent with human reason, that the Devil, who affected divine honours, should delight in so shameful and filthy an adoration.

St. Jerom received it by tradition from the ancient Jews, that this Baal-phegor was the Priapus of the Greeks and Romans; and commenting upon Hosea, he has these words, *Ipsi autem educti ex Egypto fornicati sunt cum Midianitis, et ingressi sunt ad Baal-phegor idolum Moabitarum, quem nos Priapum possumus appellare. Denique interpretatur Baal-phegor idolum tentiginem habens, id est, in summitate pellem ut turpitudinem membri virilis ostenderet.* This idol, as the same father observes, was principally worshipped by women, *Colentibus maxime feminis Baal-phegor, ob obscœni magnitudinem, quem nos Priapum possumus appellare.* For the reformation made by the good king Asa is thus rendered by the vulgar Latin: Asa removed his mother Maacah, that she might be no longer high-priestess in the sacrifices of Priapus; and in the grove which she had consecrated to him, he destroyed his cave, and burnt that obscene idol at the brook Cedron. The word we translate *idol* in this place, is *mipheletseth*, which imports something of horror, either because it was a figure of a frightful aspect, or brought dreadful judgments upon its worshippers. The modern Jews are of opinion it is a general name for all idols, because it brings a terror upon those that serve them; but it is more probable, that it was the name of a particular idol, it being only given to that of Maacah. The Talmudists own it to be an obscene figure, *imago virilis membri cui quotidie inequitabat.* It may be added upon this subject, that this god of the Moabites having

1 Kings xv. 13.

given name to one of their mountains called Pehor, is an argument, that he was worshipped on that mountain, and therefore that he was a rural god; and such was Priapus, called Agricola by Tibullus and Ovid. CHAP. XV.

Libatum agricolam ponitur ante deum. Lib. 1. Eleg. 1.

It is evident further, that fornication was in a manner consecrated to this filthy deity; the Israelites joining themselves unto Baal-peor, and at the same time committing whoredom with the daughters of Moab; which may be said likewise of Priapus, who was made *membrosior æquo*, only to signify his lasciviousness; and therefore in those infamous epigrams called *Priapœia* or *Lusus in Priapum*, he is called *deus salax.* Epig. 14.

Huc huc quisquis es in dei salacis
Diverti grave ne puta sacellum.

And the poet does, even there, encourage one to defile himself before he goes into the temple; witness these words he adds:

Et si nocte fuit puella tecum,
Hac re, quod metuas adire non est.

This obscene idol is supposed to go under another name, and was called *Chemosh*, a word which in the Hebrew language signifies *contrectatus*, or handled, and that agrees well with *Priapus pater contrectationum nocturnarum*, and was represented, *contrectans membrum virile obscœnum læva tenens.* Others are of opinion that the god Saturn was worshipped under this appellation. This image, according to St. Jerom, was placed in a temple upon mount Nebo, which signifies *prophecy*, from whence it is collected, that this was the place where the god of the Moabites pronounced his oracles. This mountain was

BOOK V. over against the hill Peor, therefore the temple upon it could not be the same with that upon the mountain of Baal-peor, but they were two temples devoted to the same abominable deity. To this idol Solomon erected an altar upon the mount of Olives.

1 Kings xi. 7.

CHAP. XVI.

The gods of the Ammonites, Milcom, Adrammelech, Hanammelech, Chiun.

THE Ammonites were brothers of the Moabites, Lot's children, and the offspring of his incestuous conversation with his daughters. Moab was the son of the elder, as Ammon of the younger sister. Therefore having spoken of the gods of the Moabites, those of the Ammonites come next of course; the Israelites, as well as other nations, having abandoned themselves to the worship of those false deities. The principal idol of the Ammonites was Moloch, whose image and worship has been explained in a preceding part of these Antiquities: but here it must be observed, that this deity was sometimes called *Milcom*, and, if we believe the Greek translation, had a temple in Rabbah, the capital city of the children of Ammon: his image had a crown upon its head that weighed a talent of gold, which was taken by David, says St. Jerome, when he sacked that city.

1 Kings xi. 5.
1 Chron. xx. 2.

This idol had likewise the appellation of *Adrammelech* and *Hanammelech*, the gods of the Sepharvites, who burnt their children to them in the fire. The Jews indeed, after their vain fancies, make one of them to have been in the form of a peacock, and

2 Kings xvii. 31.

the other of a pheasant; but the name and worship plainly prove it to be the same deity with Moloch; for Meloc, Molech, and Milcom signify *king* in the oriental languages; and the addition of Adar and Hanam are but surnames to Melech expressing some attributes of the deity. Adrammelech signifies a magnificent and mighty king, and Hanammelech implies *to hear*, importing a hearing god, that is, a god that will hear the prayers of his votaries. A learned writer of our own, Dr. Hyde, has a quite different apprehension of these words; for he will have Adrammelech to signify *the king of the flocks*, *adre* being as much as *greges*; and Anamelech he conceives to be near of the same signification, *ana* being the word for *pecus* in the Persian language, always signifying collectively in the plural number, the lesser cattle, sheep and goats, of which he imagines these gods had the care, and were therefore worshipped. They were also celestial constellations, as he there observes, which they imagined promoted the breeding of cattle, and had a kindly influence upon their growth and increase.

CHAP. XVI.

De Relig. Pers. cap. 2.

The prophet Amos, to make us apprehend who Moloch is, explains it by Chiun, a word that has for a long time perplexed the learned. The passage according to the Hebrew runs thus: *You have borne the tabernacle of your king, and the images of Chiun,* which is rather darkened than explained by the version of the Septuagint, *You have borne the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan.* Who was that god Remphan nobody knew, nor is it worth while to quote the various opinions of the learned in it: but we are obliged to Monsieur de Saumaise, who first informed us that

Chap. v. 26.

BOOK V. *Rephan*, or *Remphan*, in the Egyptian language, signifies *the planet of Saturn*, which he proves by an alphabet of the Egyptian tongue sent him from Rome, wherein are found the names of the seven planets. Upon this knowledge we have no cause to wonder that the Septuagint rendered Chiun by the word Rhephan, because they wrote in Egypt, and they must call that idol by a name known to those among whom they wrote; they lived in an age and in a place where they could not be ignorant how Saturn was called in the Cananean tongue; so that it seems beyond dispute that Moloch is Saturn, called Repham by the Egyptians, and Chiun by the Phœnicians, and his image was carried under canopies in procession, which is called *the bearing of his tabernacle.*

CHAP. XVII.

Baal, Baalzephon, Baalberith, Baalzebub.

THERE is no false deity more famous in the holy writ than Baal, and the most proper place to consider it is next to Moloch, those two, in all probability, being father and son. The word signifies *lord, master*, and *husband*, a name which doubtless was given to their supreme deity, to him whom they looked upon as the master of men and gods, and of the whole nature. This name had its original from Phœnicia, Baal being a god of the Phœnicians, and Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians, brought this deity from the city of Zidon; for he was the god of Tyre and Sidon, and was certainly the Ζεὺς of the Greeks, and the Jupiter of the Latins. This god was known under the same name all over

Asia; it is the same as the Bel of the Babylonians; and the same name and the same god went to the Carthaginians, who were a colony of the Phœnicians: witness the name of Hannibal, Asdrubal, Adherbal, all consisting of Bel or Baal, being the name of the deity of that country, which was according to the custom of the East, where the kings and great men of the realm added to their own names those of their gods. In short, it seems to be a name common to all idols, to whatever country they belonged; and when it is mentioned in the holy writings without any explanatory circumstance annexed, it is usually understood to be the principal deity of that nation or place that the text was speaking of. CHAP. XVII.

This false deity is frequently mentioned in scripture in the plural number, which may either signify that the name of Baal was given to many different gods, or imply a plurality of statues consecrated to that idol, and bearing several appellations, according to the difference of places; as the heathens of old gave many surnames to Jupiter, as Olympian, Dodonæan, and others, according to the names of the places where he was worshipped. The Septuagint interpret the word Baal, in many places, with a feminine article, and make it to represent a goddess as well as a god: it is difficult to discover, in the Hebrew text, any reason for this notion of the Judaized Greeks, for (if I mistake not) Baal in the Hebrew is always masculine; but doubtless they had learnt by the Phœnician tradition, that there was a goddess as well as a god of that name. What Moses says in his history of the creation of the world is remarkable, that God made two great lights, the sun to rule the day, and the moon

1 Sam. vii. 4.

Gen. i. 16.

BOOK V. night; from whence these two stars, doubtless, come to be called Baalim or rulers; and the moon having always been looked upon by most heathens as a feminine deity, because of its moistness, coldness, and weakness of its rays, it is no wonder, if the Judaized Greeks made two Baals, the male signifying the sun, and the female the moon. Arnobius observes, that Baal was of an uncertain sex, and his votaries, when they called upon him, invoked him thus: "Hear us, whether thou art a god or a goddess;" and the reason why the heathens made their gods hermaphrodites, of both sexes, the learned in their mysteries suppose, was to express the generative and prolific virtue of the deity.

Contra Gent. lib. 3.

The false gods of Palestine and the neighbouring nations were called Baal in general; but there were other Baals, whose name was compounded of some additional word, such as Baalpeor, Baalzephon, Baalberith, and Baalzebub. The first of these is already explained, but the second has given some trouble to commentators; some conceiving it to be the name of a town, or city, and called *Zephon*, to distinguish it from some other Baal that was near, either because it lay north, or had an eminent watch-tower in it; and others asserting it to be a magical figure of Baal, set up by the magicians of Egypt, near the Arabian gulf, to hinder the Israelites in their passage; for Baalzephon they suppose to have been a great plain, into which the Hebrews were to enter by the chops of Pihahiroth, and here was an idol worshipped, which, looking from the Red sea towards the north, was called *the lord of the north*, as the word Baalzephon imports. This statue, they say, had a power of fascination to detain the Israel-

Exod. xiv. 2.

Selden de Dis Syris Syn. i. c. 3.

ites; but this conjecture seems to be ill supported, there being no such images made under certain constellations in those times, Apollonius Tyanæus being supposed to be the first inventor of them.

Baalberith was the idol of the Shechemites; and the temple of this deity was the arsenal and public treasury of that people. The Hebrew word *berith* signifies *a covenant* or *contract*, and this god is supposed to have his appellation from his office, which was to preside over contracts and covenants, and was much the same with Jupiter Pistius, or Fidius among the Romans. But there are men of learning who conceive this deity to be a goddess called Beroe by the Greeks, frequently mentioned by Nonnius the poet, who says that Bacchus would have married her, but being denied, she was afterwards married to Neptune. He makes her to be the daughter of Venus and Adonis, and says she was the goddess of the town of Beritus, in Phœnicia, to which she had given her name. Others conjecture this idol represented the Cybele of the Greeks and Romans, and is the same with the Syrian goddess of which Lucian has left us a book, but gives her no name, she being called a goddess by way of eminence, being the mother of the other deities. He relates that there was nothing more magnificent than her temple, and besides the rich workmanship, and vast offerings in it, there were some marks of a present deity; for the statues were seen there to sweat, to move, and to pronounce oracles, and a noise was often heard there when the doors were shut. Judges viii. 33.

Some very learned writers, according to the groundless tradition of the rabbins, tell us, that no flies ever approached the sacrifices of the true God,

BOOK V. whereas it was otherwise with the pagan victims; from whence they conclude, that the Israelites called the god of Ekron by the name of Baalzebub, or (as the Greeks speak) Beelzebub, *the lord of flies*, in contempt and derision, because his sacrifices were pestered with flies. Others have imagined, that this Baalzebub received his name from a power which he had of dispelling flies, that were exceedingly troublesome in those hot countries, lying in a moist and hot soil, near to the ocean; but there is no more foundation for this, than for the other opinion, though very great men have appeared on both sides.

This Baalzebub therefore is supposed to be represented by a statue that had the figure of a fly, that is, he had, upon a man's body, a head which had something of a fly, according to the custom of the Syrians, whose idols were generally of human shape, with that of some other animal. This image was the god of the Ekronites, and they applied the name of Baal, that is, *lord*, to it, which is as much as to say, *the lord fly*. This was the *numen* to whom king Ahaziah sent, when he was mortally hurt with a fall, to know whether he should recover.

2 Kings i. 2. He not only neglected the true God, but the idols of Israel, and must needs consult this buzzing deity of the Philistines. Pliny had got some tradition of this deity from those authors that he had met with, for he seems to speak of this very god of Ekron, or

Nat. Hist. lib. x. c. 28. Accaron, (for so the Greek and Latin versions render it,) whom he corruptly calls *Achorem deum*, and tells us, that some inhabitants of Cyrene (for he and all writers of that way miserably mistake as to the names of places) used to call upon him when great swarms of flies visited them, and brought the pesti-

lence with them; but they were presently destroyed, upon invoking and sacrificing to this god. CHAP. XVII.

With allusion to this vile but busy and vexatious creature, the chief of the infernal demons was styled Baalzebub by the Jews. A fly is an emblem of impudence; and therefore when the Egyptians would signify this vice, they paint this insect, because that it is a creature, that though often beat away, yet boldly comes again. The Jews therefore, who were near neighbours to the Egyptians, and borrowed many things from them, applied this title very fitly to the prince of devils, whose impudent and restless assaults give him a just claim to this name of Baalzebub, the lord fly, or the domineering fly.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the god Dagon.

DAGON was one of the Baals or great gods of the Phœnicians, and there is no question but the Israelites defiled themselves with the idolatrous worship of this idol, as they did with the rest, who are charged in general with having worshipped the Baalim. This deity was the god of Ashdod, by the Greeks called Azotus, a place well known in the sacred history. The name of this idol is derived from *dag*, which signifies *a fish* in the Phœnician tongue, and his image had the same shape which the poets give to the Tritons. Dagon, says a rabbi, from the navel downward, had the shape of a fish, and from thence upward he had a human form. But Abarbinel is of another opinion, which is not so generally allowed, that this statue had from the

Kimchi in 2 Sam. v. 2.

In eund. loc.

BOOK V. navel upward and downward the shape of a fish, only his feet and hands were like a man's. The conjecture of Mr. Selden upon this subject is very probable, that the god Oannes, worshipped by the Babylonians, was the same as the Dagon of the Phœnicians; for it is unquestionable that the Chaldeans worshipped the same gods, and often by the same names. Berosus, quoted by Eusebius, says, that this Oannes had the body of a fish, and below the head, placed upon the body, another human head, which came out from under the head of the fish. He had likewise a man's feet coming from under the tail of the fish, and had an human voice. This monster came every morning out of the sea, went to Babylon and taught men arts and sciences, and every evening returned again. Selden quotes also Apollodorus, who says, from the same Berosus, that in the time of Ædorachus, king of the Chaldees, which was long before the deluge, there came out of the sea a monster half man and half fish, whose name was Odacon, which was the form in which Dagon was represented, the very name also being the same with very little alteration.

De Dis Syr. in Dagon.

In Chronico.

It has been observed before, that the pagan deities were of different sexes, and this idol, it is supposed, was a male god at Ashdod, but was a female at Ascalon, where she had a magnificent temple, and was called Derceto, or Dirce, and was the same with Atargata, the Syrian goddess. The origin and the worship of this goddess is given by Diodorus Siculus in this manner: (it is in the history of the birth of Semiramis:) there is in Syria a city called Ascalon, near unto which is a deep lake, replenished with fishes: not far from this lake stands the temple

Lib. ii. ab initio.

of that famous goddess, called by the Syrians Derceto, who has the face of a woman, and the rest of her body like a fish, for which this reason is given by the most sensible men of that country. They say, that Venus, bearing a spleen against the goddess, caused her to fall in love with a young man of Syria, pretty handsome, one of those who sacrificed. That Derceto having lain with this young man, she conceived a daughter, but being ashamed of the crime she had committed, she slew the young man, exposed the child, when brought into the world, in a desert place, and plunged herself into the lake, where she was transformed into a fish: therefore the Syrians eat no fish to this day, but worship fishes as gods. Ovid calls her Dione, and makes the story otherwise: he says, that she being pursued by Typhon fled into Palestine, and found herself near the banks of Euphrates, holding Cupid in her arms; that hearing a noise she threw herself into the river, and was received by two fishes, which were afterwards placed in the heavens. CHAP. XVIII. Lib. ii. Fastor.

CHAP. XIX.

The idols worshipped in Samaria during the captivity.

THE deities already explained are the principal idols of Palestine; but there are other false gods that were worshipped in the holy land, and were brought into Samaria, after Shalmaneser had carried away the ten tribes, by the colony of foreigners he sent to inhabit in their places. These men brought their idols with them: those of Babel their Succothbenoth, the men of Cutha their Nergal, the Avians

BOOK V. their Nibchas and Tartak, those of Amath their Ashima, and the men of Sepharvaim burnt their children to Adrammelech and Anamelech. As for Succoth-benoth, that idol will be considered when we come to speak of the goddesses of Syria: the rest are unknown, except Adrammelech and Anamelech, who are supposed to be the same with the god Molech. These deities have been more or less disguised by the Greeks, calling the goddess of Babel, Socoth-benith, that of Cutha, Ergal, that of Hamath, Asimoth, that of Ava, Eblozer, very remote from Nibchas; but they kept the names of Tartak, Adrammelech, and Anamelech, placing before them the feminine article; it would be hard to guess why they did it, for (except Succoth-benoth) it is very probable they were all gods.

Nergal, the Jewish rabbins would have to signify *a cock;* but this is a malicious calumny, suggested by their hatred against the Samaritans. Their conjecture is better received, who suppose that it signified *fire;* for the men of Cuth are those that were afterwards called Persians, among whom the fire was worshipped as the principal god. The famous Bochart ingenuously confesses, that he does not know what Nergal was, but remarks, that there is a sort of palm-tree called Nergil by the Persians, Arabians, and Indians, of which they report strange things; from whence perhaps the Persians gave the name of Nergal to this idol, as in Syria their god was called Rimmon from the pomegranate.

Hieroz. P. ii. lib. i.

Ashima is the name of the idol worshipped by the people of Hamath, and said by the Jews to have the shape of a goat; the heathens, it is certain, had their rural gods, to which they gave this shape;

such were Pan, the satyrs and deities of the woods, represented with deep and sharp pointed ears, and goat's feet; but there is no foundation to conceive this to be a deity in that shape. Our great Selden modestly confesses that he is wholly ignorant who this god was. Some conceive him to be the same with Mars, because among the ancients A S signified the same as Ἄρης among the Greeks, and Schemah, they say, is as much as *hearing* and *obedient*, and conclude this A S to be the god whom the Romans called Hesus, as Lucan mentions in his Pharsalia: Lib. i. 450.

Horrensque feris altaribus Hesus.

But the most probable conjecture is, that Ashima is the name of a god, whom the Hebrews call Hashem, the name from whence Ashima is derived. Accordingly Ebenezra, in his preface to the book of Esther, says, that he saw in a Samaritan Pentateuch, Bara Ashima, instead of Bare Elohim, which Bochart censures as a falsity, because no such word is to be found in the whole Pentateuch of the Samaritans; yet this does not hinder but that it might be at that time in some paraphrase made upon it.

The Avites, it is said, introduced Nibchas and Tartak for their deities; the first was a barking dog, according to Abarbinel, who derives it from *nabach*, to bark. It is certain that in Egypt there was a god called Anubis, that was worshipped in the hieroglyphical form of a dog, but it is doubted whether this superstition ever passed from the south to the east, especially since all other nations abominated this monstrous idolatry of the Egyptians. Selden thinks these two gods of the Avites were the same idol called by different names, but was not able to give an account of them.

BOOK V. Tartak, according to the Hebrews, signifies *the ass*, a creature often mentioned in the fable and theology of the heathens. We read of the ass of Silenus, and the two asses that helped Bacchus to pass a river in his Indian expedition, which got them a place among the stars in the sign of Cancer, in which astronomers have observed two darkish stars called by the ancients Aselli, or *the ass-colts*. In the fabulous divinity of the Egyptians, there was also great notice taken of the ass, which was the symbol of Typhon, but, far from worshipping it, it was to them an abomination. They throw red asses from precipices, says Plutarch, because Typhon was red haired and of the hue of an ass; and the cities of Busiris and Lycopolis scruple to hear the sound of a trumpet, as being like the braying of an ass. In short, they look upon an ass as a defiled creature. There is no account to be found in the records of any nation, that divine homage was ever paid to this beast, so that it is a malicious fiction of the Jews to charge the Samaritans with this idolatry.

De Isid. c. 14.

Little information is to be had concerning the forementioned deities, but those that are spoken of in the history of king Amaziah are much more unknown to us. It is said of this prince, that when he *came from the slaughter of the Edomites, he brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burnt incense unto them.* We know nothing of these gods of Seir. The Edomites were the posterity of Esau, who probably had deified Abraham and Isaac, their ancestors, according to the custom of the eastern people; but by what names we are ignorant of. It cannot be supposed, that

2 Chron. xxv. 14.

these gods of the Edomites were the same with those of the Phœnicians; if so, scripture would not tell us that *Amaziah brought them to Jerusalem and worshipped them;* for the worship of the Baalim of Palestine could be neither new nor unknown in Judæa, where it had been often settled in the foregoing reigns; and history makes it plain, that the kings of Judah did often join with the ten tribes in their idolatry, which tribes not only worshipped the calves, but paid adoration to the Baalim, or the Syrian deities.

Some authors pretend to have found out an idol called Aretsa in this passage of scripture; *And his servant Zimri, captain of half his chariots, conspired against him, as he was in Tirzah drinking himself drunk in the house of Arza.* The Chaldean paraphrast has these words upon it; *When he drank himself drunk in the temple of Arza, an idol, which stood near the palace in Tirzah.* If this were a deity, it must be the Earth, called Cybele by the Gentiles; but the opinion of the Jews is the most probable, that Arzah in this place is the name of a man who was steward to the king of Israel in Tirzah, in whose house he was carousing when he was surprised by the conspirator and slain.

1 Kings xvi. 9.

There are two other deities who have given great trouble to expositors, but with little satisfaction: Rimmon, a god of the Syrians, that was worshipped at Damascus; and Nisroch, a god of Nineveh, in whose temple Sennacherib was killed by his rebellious children. The first is mentioned in the history of Naaman and Elisha, but once spoken of in the sacred history, nor is he to be met with at all elsewhere; and so he is to be abandoned to conjectures.

2 Kings v. 18.

BOOK V. Some conceive this deity to be Venus, because Rimmon in the Hebrew signifies *a pomegranate*, which fruit is consecrated to that goddess. Others understand this idol to be Jupiter, the thunderer. Our Selden thinks it is derived from *rum*, which signifies *high*; so that this god is the same with that called Elion by the Phœnicians, that is, *the most high God*.

2 Kings xix. 37. We are almost as much in the dark as to Nisroch the god of Nineveh. The Seventy call this deity Nesorach, and in Isaiah, where this story is related, Asarach; but what any of these names signify Mr. Selden acknowledges he cannot discover, having in all his reading never met with any thing that might explain it. The Jews have a strange vision concerning this god, and fancy it to be a plank of Noah's ark, the relics of which, Josephus tells us, some reported were in his time in the neighbouring mountains of Armenia. Some think that the word signifies as much as *the bird of Noah*, that is, a dove, which was worshipped by the Syrians; or as others conjecture, (for they can do no more,) this word is derived from *nes*, which in Chaldee signifies a *province*, and *rac*, which signifies a *king*, that is, Jupiter, the king and conservator of that province. It is certain that Nisroch, or rather Nisrach, signifies *an eagle*, which has given occasion to an opinion, that Jupiter Belus, from whom the Assyrian kings pretend to be descended, was worshipped under the figure of an eagle, and by the name of Nisroch. The scripture itself takes notice of the eagle as the symbol of the kings of Chaldee, this Belus his successors. Ezekiel, who was one of those captives that were transported into Babylon, prophesying the ruin of

Jerusalem, declares, that *a great eagle with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came into Babylon, and took the highest branch of the cedar;* which explaining afterwards in less figurative terms, says he, *Say now to the rebellious house, Know ye not what these things meant? Tell them, Behold the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and has taken the king and princes thereof, and led them with him to Babylon.* CHAP. XIX. Chap. xvii. 3. Ch. vi. 12.

I know but of one male deity more mentioned in scripture, of whom nothing has been said as yet, and that is Tammuz spoken of by Ezekiel. The same is supposed to be Adonis, the darling of Venus, and so I look upon him as inseparable from this goddess; and therefore I shall reserve him to be explained in the chapter that treats of the Syrian Venus. Chap. viii. 14.

CHAP. XX.

Of the idol Cybele, or Baal-berith.

IT has been observed, that the mother of the gods known among the Latins by the name of Cybele, is mentioned in scripture, under the appellation of Baal-berith, which being commonly understood as a god among authors, I therefore left her among the masculine deities. The most famous of her daughters was Ashtaroth, the goddess of the Zidonians, known among the Greeks and Latins by the name of Astarta, or Astarte, by whom she is owned to be one of the goddesses of the Phœnicians; she was likewise called Ashera and Asheroth, which signifies *wooden images*, and is generally mentioned with Baal, because the worship of both these deities was intro-

BOOK V. duced at the same time by Jezebel daughter to the king of Zidon.

Chap. xliv. This goddess is explained thus by Abarbinel in his commentaries upon Jeremiah: I have already, says he, told you my opinion, that the Baal whom they worshipped is the sun, whom they also called Moloch, that is to say *king*, because he was the king over all the children of pride, and Asherah, whom they served likewise, was the moon called *the queen of heaven;* as the scripture calls the sun *king Moloch*, so it calls the moon *queen of heaven;* and as the sun, in respect to the moon, is called Baal, because it is in relation to the moon, as it were, a lord and husband, who communicates his glory and splendour to his wife, so the moon is called Ashera, a name of the feminine gender, as if she was a wife to the sun, and much loved and desired by him. The learned

De Idolol. Vossius remarks of this goddess, that she was represented by a figure, half fish and half woman, and therefore confounds her with Atergatis, or Derceto; but there is no sufficient ground for this conjecture; for Derceto was the goddess of the men of Ascalon, who were one of the five governments of the Philistines, whereas Astarte was worshipped among the Zidonians, as the history of Solomon observes, which

De Dea Syria. was confirmed by Lucian above a thousand years after. There is, says he, a great temple in Phœnicia, among the Zidonians, dedicated to Astarte, which I take to be the moon, though a priest of the temple told me it was Europa, sister of Cadmus and daughter of Agenor: besides, the image of Astarte was a

Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 10. quite different figure; for either she was a woman altogether, or she had the head of an ox upon a human body, or at least an ox's horns upon her head;

for Philo Biblius observes, that Astarte placed upon her own head the head of an ox, as an ensign or mark of empire.

Venus was another goddess of the Syrians: this deity, I think, is nowhere mentioned in scripture, which yet speaks of Adonis, under the name of Tammuz. This Adonis is inseparable from Venus, for they had both but one temple, the mysteries and the devotion were the same. The prophet Ezekiel speaks thus concerning Tammuz: *Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.* It is impossible to make any discovery of this deity from the monuments of the rabbies; who having no tincture of the heathen learning, could have but an imperfect knowledge of their gods; what they say of them is altogether fabulous: Kimchi, for example, asserts, that this was an image, into the hollow part of whose eyes lead was poured, and the image wept, when fire was put to it. Maimonides says, that Tammuz was a false prophet, who endeavouring to persuade a certain prince to worship the seven planets and the twelve signs, this prince had ordered him to be put to a cruel death. The very night of his execution, all the idols met together from all parts of the earth, in the temple of Babylon, about the great golden image, being the image of the sun hanging between heaven and earth. This idol threw itself down upon the stones of the temple, and all the other idols stood about it, while Tammuz gave an account of his adventures; which made all the idols weep and bemoan him all night long, and the next morning they all flew away, and returned every one to its proper temple; from

Chap. viii. 14.

In loc. Ezek. more Nevoch.

BOOK V. whence, says he, came the custom of weeping for Tammuz. But this is a fable equally false and ridiculous.

There is nothing more probable upon this subject, than what St. Jerome remarks in his commentaries upon Ezekiel, where he explains the place concerning Tammuz; but the text being too long to be inserted, I shall only give the substance of it: he says, that according to the fable, Adonis was the darling of Venus, a very handsome youth, who was killed in June by a wild boar, and was raised again from the dead, and that the month of June had taken its name from it; that in this month women were used to celebrate a solemn feast to him, in which they first wept for him as dead; this done, they sung unto him and praised him, as returned to life again: he adds, that the wise men among the heathens applied this fable of Adonis dying and returning to life, to the sowing of seed in the earth, where it first corrupts, and then springs up again; so that it was Adonis the darling of Venus for whom the women of Jerusalem wept.

In Dea Syria. The author, under the name of Lucian, gives a particular account of this ceremony: "I saw," says he, "at Biblis, the great temple of Venus, in which "are yearly celebrated the mysteries of Adonis, in "which I am initiated; for it is said, that he was "killed in the country by a wild boar, and in per-"petual remembrance of this event a public mourn-"ing is yearly celebrated with doleful lamentations; "then follows a funeral, as of a dead body, and next "day is celebrated his resurrection, for it is said he "flew up into heaven; one of the ceremonies is for "women to have their heads shaven, as the Egypt-

" ians at the death of Apis. Those who refuse to be " shaven are obliged to prostitute themselves a whole " day to strangers, and the money which is got that " way is consecrated to the goddess. But some of " the Biblians say, that all those ceremonies are ob- " served for Osiris, and that he is buried in their " country, not in Egypt. In order to which there " comes yearly a head made of papyrus, brought by " sea, from Egypt to Biblis, and I myself have seen " it." Procopius upon Isaiah more particularly explains this rite, and observes, that the inhabitants of Alexandria prepare yearly a pot in which they put a letter directed to the women of Biblis, by which they are informed Adonis is found again. This pot being sealed up, they commit it to the sea, after some ceremonies over it, and bid it be gone away; this pot goes along immediately, steering its course to Biblis, where it puts an end to the women's mourning. CHAP. XX.

This Syrian Venus had a temple upon the top of this mountain, which was built out of the way in a by-place, in the midst of a wood; it was demolished by the emperor Constantine, who put an end to all the filthy ceremonies performed in it; for it was, says the historian, in a manner, a school of uncleanness to all people given up to lust, or who had weakened and enervated themselves by a debauched course of life. There some lascivious and effeminate men, who deserve not to be called men, defiling themselves in a most infamous prostitution, appeased the Devil and served him. There also they defiled themselves abominably with women, and under a false pretence of marriage lay privately with them; in short, the lewdest crimes were committed in that Euseb. in Vit. Constant.

BOOK V. temple, as a most filthy place, and there was nobody to punish it or take notice of them, because honest, virtuous people durst not come near unto it. The Saturnal. lib. i. c. 21. image of this goddess, according to Macrobius, represented a woman in mourning covered with a veil, having a dejected countenance, and tears seeming to run down her face.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Venus under the name of Succoth-Benoth.

AMONG the deities of Palestine we meet with Venus again under the name of Succoth-Benoth, which, in the judgment of the learned Selden and 2 Kings xvii. 30. other eminent authors, was the Babylonian Venus, worshipped under her images and usual emblems. That this is a Babylonian deity is unquestionable; for it was the men of Babel who made it and introduced it into Samaria; and that it is a female deity, is evident by the signification of the name, the word implying the tabernacles of daughters or of young maidens; so that properly it is not the name of the deity, but of her temple; why it was distinguished by this title will appear from what Herodotus relates Lib. i. upon this occasion. There is, says he, a filthy custom among the Babylonians, which is, that all their women are obliged, once in their lifetime, to expose themselves in the temple of Venus, and become prostitutes to strangers: such as are rich, and will not submit to this ceremony, keep before the temple of the goddess in their chariots, under arches, with their domestics behind them; but the greatest part do this: they sit in the temple of Venus, their tem-

ples crowned with nosegays and garlands, some going out, others coming in. There are alleys separated with lines, and leading to all places where strangers walk to view the women, and choose those they like best. When a woman has once taken a place in the temple, she does not return home without a piece of money thrown into her lap by some stranger, and without being brought by him out of the temple to lie with her; and when the stranger gives this earnest money, he must say, I call for thee upon the goddess Mylitta, Venus being called Mylitta by the Assyrians; and how small soever the sum be, it is unlawful to refuse it, because it is appointed for sacred uses. Nor is it lawful for a woman to refuse a stranger, but without choosing, she must follow the first that offers her money: in short, when a woman has lain with a stranger, she is looked upon as having done her duty to make the goddess favourable unto her, and then she returns home. This done, she keeps herself chaste, and such a favour is not to be obtained from her for all the world. Women that are beautiful do not stay long in the temple; but ill-favoured women are obliged to continue there very long before they can fulfil the law; nay, there are some of those poor creatures who wait there for three or four years. In the isle of Cyprus there is a law much of this nature.

This place of the historian is of use to explain a passage in the book of Baruch, where describing the idolatry of the Chaldeans and Babylonians, he says, that the women with cords about them, sitting in the way, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproaches her fellow that she was not thought as

Chap. xxvi. 43.

BOOK V. worthy as herself, nor her cord broken. This, without doubt, is the same custom mentioned by Herodotus; the seeming difference lies in this, that the heathen writer says, that the women sat in the temple, and Baruch, that they sat in the way, which must be understood of the paths and alleys made by the lines which divided the set of women; Baruch observes that the line was broken to come to one of those women; which has given occasion for some interpreters to believe, that by this line ought to be understood a girdle or scarf, which alone covered the waist, leaving the rest open, to inflame the lust of passengers. But it is more probable that they were got out of the line behind which they sat in order. There is one ceremony mentioned, upon which Herodotus is silent, that these women burn bran for a perfume. This bran, no doubt, was somewhat like what the Latins called *molasasa*, flour that was thrown into the fire when they offered sacrifices. Herodotus gives some light to explain this custom, where he says, that as often as a Babylonian lay with his wife, he threw a perfume into the fire, and his wife did the same on her part; the next morning both wash themselves, and touch nothing before they washed. So that those women who were ranked behind the line, waiting for a stranger to carry them off, made their perfume of preparation, that nothing might hinder the consummation of their vow.

Here follows a deity, if it be one, of which the scripture makes but little mention, yet remembered more than once by the prophet Jeremiah, which is Sheshach, a supposed goddess of the Babylonians and Persians. There is scarce any thing to be met with in ancient authors concerning this idol; we

Jerem. xxv. 15. li. 41.

find only, that there was a feast held by those people called *Sakea* which lasted five days, during which the masters waited upon their slaves, so that it was a kind of saturnals; this probably is the festival taken notice of by St. Chrysostom, where he says, Do not you remember the feast of the Saques celebrated by the Persians, when they take one of those that are condemned to death, and set him upon the king's throne, and clothe him with royal robes? While the feast lasts, they give him his fill of all sorts of delights; he is even free to lie with the king's concubines, and no man hinders him to do what he pleases; but when the feast is over, he is stripped, whipped, and hanged. Strabo likewise gives an account of this festival, which would be worth inserting, if any thing but conjecture could be raised from it.

Tract. iv. de Regno.

Another deity, which has much perplexed the interpreters, is the god Mahuzzim, spoken of by Daniel, and translated by us *the god of forces*. The learned Selden is silent in this case, as a matter utterly unknown. All that I have found probable concerning it is, that the prediction may be understood of Antiochus Epiphanes, a proud prince, who exalted himself above his neighbours, and should be reduced to pay tribute to the Roman eagles that were a sort of deities, and not improperly called *the god of forces*, and by gifts and other civil homage, continue in the favour of that victorious nation.

Daniel xi. 38.

And that nothing that passed for the name of a deity should go unobserved, something must be said also of Margemah, rendered without any affinity by the Latin interpreters, Acervus Mercurii, *Mercury's heap*, but rendered in our English, *As he that bind-*

Prov. xxvi. 8.

BOOK V. *eth a stone in a sling, so is he that giveth honour to a fool,* which is likewise the sense of the Greeks and Chaldee; so that the signification is, He that puts a stone in a sling, and gives honour to a fool, does the same thing; which is to say, that both the one and the other are presently over, the honour given to a fool soon passing away, as a stone thrown out of a sling. As for the custom to which the Latin interpreter alludes, the same is very well known. Mercury was looked upon as the god of highways, and where they crossed, his statue was usually erected. Great heaps of stones were raised in his honour, into which the passengers thought it a piece of devotion to throw each a stone. The commentator upon Homer derives this custom from the fable, which says, that Mercury being charged by Juno for the murder of Argus, was therefore tried by the gods, and upon Jupiter's solicitation acquitted; however, to let Juno see that they detested the crime of Mercury, each of them threw a stone at his feet; thence came the custom for men to make heaps of stones along the highways, in honour of Mercury, who presided over them, in imitation of the gods who acquitted him, and those heaps they called *the butts of Mercury.*

Dydm. Eustath. in Odyss. xi.

CHAP. XXIII.

The vindication of the Jews, from worshipping the ass, the hog, the heavens, and the god Bacchus.

HAVING finished what I had to observe concerning the idolatries of which the Jews were really guilty, I cannot make an end without saying something in their justification of those they were un-

justly accused of, as of worshipping the ass, the hog, the heaven, and the god Bacchus. The Greeks and Romans, who were their enemies and accusers, had no knowledge of their religion till after the captivity of this people in Babylon. From which time it is certain that they had the utmost aversion against idolatry, much less could they be guilty of that vile abomination of worshipping a hog.

This accusation is to be found in Plutarch's Table-discourses, where he brings in one Callistratus saying, that the Jews did not eat the flesh of a hog, out of the great respect they bore to that creature, because by turning the ground with his muzzle, he had taught men husbandry: his conjecture, that the Jews did not abhor flesh by abomination, he grounds upon this; that if they abhorred hogs, they would destroy them as the magicians do mice, whereas they are forbidden to kill as well as to eat hogs; but these accusers knew not that according to the religion of the Jews, a man was as much defiled by touching as by eating of an unclean beast; therefore they durst not kill this creature, for fear of being defiled by touching it. This abstinence from hog's flesh commanded to the Jews is certainly the ground of this accusation, which made Petronius Arbiter say,

Symposiac. lib. iv. c. 5.

Judæus licet et porcinum numen adoret,
Et cæli summas advocet auriculas,
Ni tamen et ferro succiderit inguinis oram, &c.

In Fragmentis.

In the same place the Jews are accused of worshipping the ass. They forbear, says he, a hare, and hate it as an unclean beast, because it resembles an ass, which they revere mystically. The fable of Tacitus is known to all the learned, that the Jews

BOOK V. worshipped the ass, because at their coming out of Egypt they were ready to die with thirst in the desert, when they happened to meet a great company of wild asses which brought them to a fountain: this made them so grateful to the creature, that they consecrated its figure in the holy place. This he took from Appion, a grammarian, who lived in the time of Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius, and Josephus has plainly confuted it. It is Appion who says, that the holy place having been opened by Antiochus the Great, there was found a golden head, having the resemblance of the head of an ass. Whence came the reproach thrown upon the Christians, that they also worshipped the ass. Tertullian says, that one of these slanderers caused the god of the Christians to be drawn with the ears of an ass, having a long robe on, holding a book in his hand, and the foot with a hoof as horses and asses, with this inscription, *Deus Christianorum Ononychites.* It is to be observed, that in those times they made no distinction of the Jews and Christians, because they worshipped the same God, Creator of the world, and were both equally enemies to the false deities of the heathens.

Joseph. l. ii. Appion, c. 16. Apologet.

As to the third charge brought in against the Jews, both by Juvenal and Petronius,

Petron. Satyr. 14.

Nil præter nubes et cæli numen adorant.
Et cæli summas advocet auriculas.

It is easy to guess why the Jews professed no worship but of the God of heaven; they had no images nor statues; they called God to witness of their innocence, by lifting up their hands and eyes to heaven, and towards the clouds; and indeed the Jews adored only what they called *cæli numen*, the

God of heaven, but did not worship *cælum numen*, the heaven as a god, whatever Juvenal may insinuate to the contrary. CHAP. XXIII.

I come now to the last charge, which is, that the Jews worshipped Bacchus. It is what Plutarch insists most upon, and which he pretends to convince them of by abundance of proofs, a review whereof (notwithstanding what I have before observed to this purpose) may neither be useless nor unacceptable. He pretends to prove this accusation by their grand feast, which was kept in autumn. They call it, says he, *the fast*, and keep it in vintage time; they set tables in the middle of the streets loaded with all manner of fruit, and sit under arbours made chiefly of vine and ivy. They call it *the day before the feast of tabernacles.* A few days after that, they kept another feast, in which the mysteries of Bacchus plainly appear; with boughs and thyrses in one hand they go into their temple, and there do what we know not; but it is likely they keep there their Bacchanals by the sound of trumpets, &c. in their hymns they sing to their god. Plutarch. ubi supra.

In the month Tisri the Hebrews had three solemn days; the first was the first day of the month Tisri, called *the feast of trumpets;* the second, upon the tenth day of the same month, was the feast of expiation; the third, being the fifteenth of the same month, began the feast of tabernacles, which lasted till the two and twentieth, in which the Jews did actually eat under trees, or green arbours: most of the circumstances hinted by Plutarch were really practised in those feasts. But had he been instructed in the mysteries of their religion, he would have un-

BOOK V. derstood, that the first day was a solemn day, being the first of the year; that the second was a fast, a day of humiliation, and not a festival of Bacchus; and that the third indeed was a feast and day of rejoicing, appointed to the honour of the God of heaven, and not to any pagan deity; and that these green tabernacles, under which they lodged, were to represent their pilgrimage in the wilderness.

The same author brings another proof from the name of Levites. The Levites, says he, are these who play upon instruments, such as lutes and harps. It was indeed one of the offices of the Levites. This name he derives from Evius, one of the names of Bacchus, because of the word Εὐοῖ, which the ranting Bacchanal women did constantly repeat in the festivals of that deity. This is so insipid that it does not deserve to be confuted. He adds, that the word *sabbath*, which signifies the common feast of the Jews, may be derived from ἀβοῖ, a word which the Bacchanal women joined to that of Εὐοῖ; and that Bacchus was from thence called Sabazius. This fancy is well enough; but had he made inquiry he might have learned of the Jews that *sabbath* signifies *rest*, and that they called this the seventh day of the week, because they did no manner of work upon that day. He says moreover, that on that day the Jews made themselves drunk, and feasted one another; which, I suppose, is grounded upon this, that the sabbath among them, no more than among the primitive Christians, was never a day of fasting. But this is a mere calumny, the Jews not daring so much as to dress meat upon their sabbath, and every one of them keeping at home upon that day.

This writer conceives he has an invincible proof

in the bells that hang upon the robe of the high priest of the Jews, which made a great noise when he moved, because that noise was like that which was heard in the nocturnal sacrifices of Bacchus, called *nyctelia.* It is certain there were bells at the hem of the robe of the high priest, but not in imitation of the sacrifices and feasts of Bacchus, their design being to give notice to the people to fall to their prayers, while the high priest was offering incense. Plutarch also makes this observation, that there were upon the walls of the temple figures of drums and thyrses. He had doubtless read in the description of the temple of Solomon, that the walls were covered with a gilt ceiling, upon which were branches of palm trees interwoven together. Perhaps he means by these thyrses the vines with the grapes of gold in relievo, which were upon the wall of the porch of the temple, which vine was so prodigious big, that the bunches of grapes were of a man's height. As for the drums, it is difficult to conceive from whence he had them, unless he took open flowers for the figures of drums; but this writer never saw the temple of Solomon, nor that of Herod. These drums are supposed to be the product of his own fancy, that he might find more easily the worship of Bacchus in the service of the Jews. Lastly, he proves that Bacchus was the god of the Jews, because, says he, among several punishments used among them, the most shameful is that which debars them from the use of wine so long as the sentence bears. I believe he has taken that from the law of the Nazarites, by which he that made a vow to be a Nazarite confined himself to drink no wine; because the Nazarite went to cut his hair in the

BOOK V. temple and perform these ceremonies of the vow in the presence of the priests, Plutarch fancied that it was the priest that imposed that necessity of forbearing wine; or else it came from what he might have heard concerning those who were excommunicated; he that was under the sentence being deprived of all commerce with his brethren, and not allowed to sit at table with them all the time of his excommunication; which might induce this author to believe that such a person, being excluded from all common tables, was likewise forbidden the use of wine. Upon the whole, as full of errors as are these accusations of Plutarch, it appears, notwithstanding, that he had a greater insight into the ceremonies of the Jews than other heathens who have attempted to write upon this subject.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

A short survey of the city of Jerusalem.

IT is an opinion generally received, that Jerusalem is the same city which is called Salem in the book of Genesis, and of which Melchizedek is said to be king: but the learned Bochart thinks this to be an error, and observes, that Salem was in the way which led from the valley of Damascus unto Sodom; and St. Hierom remarks, that he learned from the Jews, in his time, that it was seated on this side of Jordan; and it retained its name in our Saviour's days, as appears by the story of John's baptizing in Salem: but the common voice of interpreters is against this criticism; not that Salem, or the city of Melchizedek, is supposed to have been of equal extent with Jerusalem in after-times, but Jerusalem was no other than the city of Salem enlarged and beautified by the kings of all Israel, David and Solomon, and by some of the succeeding kings of Judah after the division of the twelve tribes into the two distinct kingdoms of Judah and Israel. CHAP. I. Gen. xiv. 18. Lib. xi. Phaleg. c. 4. John iii. 23.

The word *Salem* in the Hebrew language signifies *peace;* and as the city of Melchizedek, called Salem, is probably thought to be the same with Jerusalem, so it is certain that Jerusalem was otherwise called Jebus. Now as Jerusalem preserves the name of Salem in the last part of it, so it is thought to preserve the name of Jebus in the former, and (for Heb. vii. 2. Josh. xv. 8.

BOOK VI. better sound sake by the change of one letter, and the omission of another) softened into Jerusalem instead of Jebussalem, or Jebusalem. It is true indeed, that the word, which in the seventy interpreters, and in others, and so in our English translation from them, is rendered Jerusalem, in the original or Hebrew text is most frequently, if not always, writ Jerusalaim, as if it were a dual; from whence, perhaps, it may be inferred, that the city consisted principally of two parts, one of which was the old city, that was in the time of Melchizedek, and of the Jebusites, and the other part was the addition, or new buildings, added to the old city by king David and his son Solomon, and their successors; and which for its largeness might be esteemed as a new city, or new Jerusalem; and so these two parts together, the old city, or the old Jerusalem, and the new city, or new Jerusalem, might give occasion to denote the whole city by the dual name of Jerusalaim.

It is further observable, that the Hebrew word Jerusalem is, I think, always rendered in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament *Jerousalem*, or *Jerusalem*. But in the writings of the New we find it mentioned not always by the prementioned name, but frequently by the name of Hierysolema. As for the latter part of the said name, we find it given (omitting the former part) not only to this city we are speaking of, but also to another in Pisidia, or Lycia. Nay, we are told, that there was in Lycia, or more particularly in Pisidia, not only a city called Solyma, but also that all the Pisidians in general were formerly called Solymi. Whether the Pisidian city Solyma (from which likely the people

took the name of Solymi) was originally called Salem, as well as the city of Judæa we are speaking of; or whether the Greeks, as they turned the former part of the name Jerusalem, viz. Jeru, into a word of their own language somewhat like it, viz. Hiero, that is, *sacred*, so turned also the latter part Salem into the Greek name Solyma, as somewhat resembling it, is uncertain: but certain it is, that Hierosolyma (into which the Greeks, according to their usual fashion, moulded Jerusalaim, or Jerusalem) does import so much as *sacred Solyma*, and perhaps the Greeks were induced to use the prementioned word Hierosolyma, not as a singular, but as a plural, in allusion to the Hebrew Jerusalaim, which seems not to be a singular but a dual, and to denote, as is above observed, the two principal parts of which Jerusalem did consist in the times of the kings David and Solomon, and their successors, that is, the old city built before it was taken by David, and the new city added by David and the succeeding kings. CHAP. I.

The city of Jerusalem was first taken from the Jebusites by Joshua, who subdued the king of it, together with four other kings of the Amorites, who joined in battle with him. Josh. x. 5, 23.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the Jebusites were of the seed of Canaan, being constantly numbered among the seven nations devoted to destruction; yet some of the Jews have a conceit that the people here mentioned were derived from Abimelech king of the Philistines, with whom their forefather Isaac made a league, and therefore the children of Judah did not expel them; but this, it is evident, is a foolish imagination; for why did they expel them at the last as Kemech. in Josh. xv. 63.

BOOK VI. they did, if they were to be kind to them upon this account? The fort of Zion held out against the armies of Joshua, and the Israelites not being able immediately to people the cities they had taken, the Jebusites recovered the city of Jerusalem, and got possession of it again; from whence the children of Judah expelled them after the death of Joshua; but the fort continued in their hands till the time of David, which so commanded the lower town, that they forced the children of Judah and Benjamin to let them dwell with them there, and they soon grew so powerful as to become the ruling party in the place.

The first warlike enterprise of David, after he was king, was to remove these imperious neighbours, and to reduce the fort, which he attacked vigorously with the flower of his army; but the besieged imagined their fortress so impregnable, that by way of contempt and scorn, they bragged that the blind and the lame were able to defend it against him,
2 Sam. v. 6. and all his forces. The words in the text are, *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither;* that is, says the learned
Lib. iv. Phaleg. c. 36. Bochart, Thou shalt not come hither, but the blind and the lame, the most feeble and cowardly amongst us, will drive thee away; which he thinks is so plain
In loc. sup. a sense, that he wonders men of great learning should seek for any other. But so it is, a great many by *the blind and the lame* understand the images of their gods, (particularly our learned Gregory has a whole dissertation about it;) as if they had said, Our gods, whom ye call blind and lame, they shall defend us, and you must overcome them before you overcome us. Luther himself thus ex-

plains the sense: These blind and lame, says he, were the idols of the Jebusites, which to irritate David they set upon their walls as their patrons and defenders; and they did as good as say, Thou dost not fight with us, but with our gods, who will easily repel thee. The conceit of a rabbin is idle and groundless, which is, that when Abraham bought the buryingplace in Macpelah, of the children of Heth, he sealed a covenant with them, that when his seed should possess the land of Canaan, (as they believed they would,) they should not possess the city of Jebus, which covenant they now engraved upon brasen statutes, and set them upon their walls, saying, Thou canst not enter here, except thou break the oath of Abraham. CHAP. I. Eliezer Pirke. c. 36.

David soon made himself master of the fort; and now the whole city was in the hands of the Hebrews, and received no remarkable change, except in the magnificence of its structures and ornaments, till it fell into the hands of the king of Egypt; it was besieged and taken by the Chaldeans in the eleventh year of king Zedekiah, after a siege of twelve months. Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard to the king of Babylon, seized upon all the vessels of the temple, and all the riches that could be found, and then by the command of his master set both the temple and city on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrowing all the walls, fortresses, and towers, and rasing and levelling to the ground all the houses, that nothing could be seen but a scene of the utmost ruin and destruction. Under this desolation it continued for fifty-two years, till by the favour of Cyrus, the Jews being released from their captivity, and restored again to 2 Kings xxv. 8.

BOOK VI. their own land, repaired those ruins, and built again their holy city. Jerusalem was again besieged and taken by Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, who slew of the inhabitants in three days' time forty thousand persons, and having taken as many more captives, sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations. Not content with this, he impiously forced himself into the temple, and entered into the inner and more sacred recesses of it, polluting the holy place, and the holy of holies; and to offer the greatest indignity to their religion, he sacrificed a great sow upon the altar of burnt-offerings; and broth being made, by his command, of part of the flesh boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the temple, to derive upon it the utmost pollution. After this he sacrilegiously plundered it by taking away the altar of incense, the shewbread table, the candlestick of seven branches that stood in the holy place, which were all of gold, and several other golden vessels, utensils, and donatives of former kings, to the value of eighteen hundred talents of gold, and made the same plunder of the inhabitants. The city afterwards submitted to the Roman arms, under the command of Pompey the Great; but the temple being fortified against him, he laid close siege to it, and took it after a siege of three months. He ordered the most sacred parts of the temple to be opened to him and his officers, and entered not only into the holy place, but into the holy of holies: but though he found in the treasuries two thousand talents in money, besides utensils, he touched nothing of it, but left it entire to the sacred uses to which it was devoted. Upon the conclusion of this war the walls of Jerusalem were demolished by the com-

mand of the Roman general. It was soon fortified again, and besieged and taken by the joint forces of Herod and Sosius, the governor of Syria, after a siege of twelve months. The Romans entered with great fury, and filled all quarters with blood and slaughter. Herod used his utmost power to prevent these miseries, but without success, for Sosius encouraged the soldiers in what they did; upon which Herod applied to him with heavy complaints about it, alleging, that if the city was thus destroyed and plundered, the Romans would only make him king of a desert, and therefore desired that a stop might be put to this ravage and cruelty; but receiving for answer, that the spoils were due to the soldiers for the reward of their labour and valour, he was forced by a sum of money to redeem the city from all further devastations, which otherwise would have been utterly ruined and destroyed: at length it fell a prey to the Roman eagles under the command of Titus, who so entirely subverted it, that it could scarce be believed it had ever been inhabited; yet he left some of the principal towers and a part of the wall as a monument of the Roman valour, to shew posterity what manner of city his arms had conquered and subdued. CHAP. I.

The city of Jerusalem was fifty furlong in compass, which reduced to our English account amounts to six miles and a quarter; it was surrounded with a treble wall, except where it was guarded with unpassable valleys; there one wall was sufficient. This wall was fenced with a ditch cut out of a rock, says Josephus, and according to Strabo sixty foot deep, and two hundred and fifty foot broad. The gates of the city were these: Strabo Geograph. lib. xxvi.

BOOK VI. The Sheep-gate on the east is supposed to have been near the temple; through it were led the sheep which were to be sacrificed, being first washed at the pool of Bethesda, near the gate.

The Fish-gate, conceived by some to have been on the west side of the city, because the Mediterranean sea lay that way; but since it is certain that the sea of Galilee afforded also fish, the westerly situation of the Mediterranean sea is but a very weak argument for the westerly situation of this gate. Hence others place this gate on the north side of old Jerusalem next after the gate of Ephraim, and the old gate proceeding from west to east, and this supposition seems to be founded on Nehemiah, where we find the like order observed.

And it is not to be doubted, but the gate of Ephraim was on the north side of the city, because on that side lay the tribe of Ephraim, to which the chief road probably lay through this gate, whence it came to have the name of the gate of Ephraim; there being several instances to be found of the like nature among us, of gates or streets taking their names from some remarkable country or city to which they lead. Whether this gate be the same as is now called the gate of Damascus, as leading to Damascus, is not certain, but seems probable; otherwise the gate of Damascus was probably either the Fish-gate already spoken of, or else the old gate, with much probability supposed to be so called, as remaining from the times of the Jebusites.

As for the Horse-gate, its situation is altogether uncertain; some are of opinion, that this gate, and the Sheep-gate, and Fish-gate, were so called, because they were in the manner of three several

market-places, and at one gate sheep, at another fish, CHAP. I.
and at the third horses were sold.

The Gate of the Valley, doubtless, took its name from leading into some valley, and it is thought, that the valley into which it led was the valley of Jehosaphat. And this it must be, if the opinion mentioned by the ingenious gentleman and our countryman Mr. Sandys be well grounded; according to which the gate, formerly called the gate of the valley, Valley-gate, is supposed to be the same with that which is at present called St. Stephen's-gate, which is not far from the Golden-gate or Great-gate that leads into that which was formerly the court of the temple that is at the north-east corner of the wall that surrounds the said court. Mr. Sandys likewise supposes, that this gate of St. Stephen's was not only formerly called the Valley-gate, but also the Gate of his Flock, (whereby I suppose he means what is called by others the Sheep-gate,) and consequently according to his opinion the Valley-gate and the Sheep-gate were only two different names for the same gate. Perhaps he might be induced to embrace this opinion from the nearness of the pool Bethesda to St. Stephen's gate, wherein the sacrifices (as he observes) were washed before they were delivered to the priests. But since the Valley-gate and Sheep-gate are distinctly mentioned in the book of Nehemiah, it seems more probable, that they were two distinct gates.

The Dung-gate mentioned in the Old Testament probably stood in the same place where that stands, which is nowadays called by the same name, and consequently a little above the south-west corner of the temple-court wall. It is supposed to take this

BOOK VI. name from its use, the dung or filth of the beasts that were sacrificed being carried from the temple through this gate.

The Gate of the Fountain is thought to have been so named from its nearness to the fountain either of Siloam or of Gihon. The fountain of Siloam is placed by Mr. Sandys in his draught of Jerusalem somewhat south of the Dung-port or Dung-gate; and not far from it he places a fountain, called at present *the fountain of the blessed Virgin;* and from
Chap. ii. 13. 14. comparing what is said in Nehemiah, it appears not improbable that the gate of the Fountain might be somewhere hereabout. If it be rather supposed that this gate stood near the fountain of Gihon, then it must be in a different quarter, namely, on the west side, at least near the south-west corner of the city.

The Water-gate (as well as several of the former) did doubtless take its name from its use, it being the gate through which probably was brought the water that served the city, or at least the temple, which latter opinion seems to be somewhat favoured
Chap. iii. 26. by Nehemiah, who says, that the Nethinims who drew water for divine service dwelt in Ophel unto the place over against the Water-gate toward the east.

2 Chron. xxiii. 20. The High-gate is supposed by some commentators to have been the principal gate of the royal palace,
Chap. xx. 2 but from what is said in Jeremiah of the High-gate, it appears to have been *by the house of the Lord;* it is in this latter text styled *the High-gate of Benjamin;* and that, as is thought, from its situation towards the land or tribe of Benjamin, which opinion
Jerem. xxvii. 12, 13. is much favoured by the prophet, who, as he was going out of Jerusalem into the land of Benjamin,

when he was in the gate of Benjamin, a captain of the ward was there who seized him. CHAP. I.

The Gate of Genoth, or the gate of king Herod's garden, was not far from the second wall of the city, by which water was brought up into the tower Hippic. By this gate the seditious frequently sallied and did execution upon the Romans.

The Gate of Women's-towers, at the north end of the city. Besides these gates (and some others perhaps not recorded in scripture) Jerusalem was adorned and fortified with many towers, which contributed to the strength and ornament of the city. Such was the tower of Meah, or the hundredth tower, so called, either because it was so many cubits high, or so many distant from some other tower, or because an exact century of towers might possibly be begun or finished at it. Nehem. iii. 1.

The Tower of Furnaces standing in the west, north of the Valley-gate, so called (says Adrichomius) from the fire kept there as a signal to mariners at sea. But the city was forty miles from sea, and many mountains lay between, so that it might serve for some beacon or landmark, or (as Mr. Fuller thinks) might take its name from some fire in the *corps du gard* constantly preserved in it. Nehem. iii. 11.

The Tower of Hananeel in the eastern part, so called, no doubt, from the first builder of it. Pisgah-sight, p. 323.

The Tower of the King's high House. There are so many turnings of the wall mentioned (says bishop Patrick in his Commentaries) in Nehemiah, that none can give an account of them, nor of the king's high house, which some take to have been a house built for the sake of the prospect. Nehem. iii. 1. Nehem. iii. 25.

BOOK VI. The Great Tower that lieth out; it was in the eastern part of the city.

Nehem. iii. 27.

Nehem. iii. 19. The Tower of David furnished with an armory at the south-west turning of the wall.

Luke xiii. 4. The Tower of Siloe on the west side of the city, which killed eighteen persons with the fall of it.

2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. The Tower of Ophel inhabited by the Nethinims.

Chap. xxvi. 9. The High-tower, built by king Uzziah upon the Valley-gate; and that it might be seen beyond mount Olivet, he made it a hundred and fifty cubits high. This prince built towers, says the text, at the corner gate, and at the Valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them.

The city of Jerusalem, for its royal structures and magnificence one of the wonders of the world, was built upon a rocky mountain, every way to be ascended with steep and difficult ascents, (except towards the north,) surrounded also on all other sides with some neighbouring hills, as if it stood in the midst of an amphitheatre. It consisted, in the time of its greatest prosperity, of four parts separated by their several walls, as if they had been several distinct cities, which may be called the city of Herod, the old city, the lower city, and the new city; all of them, but the lower city, seated upon their several hills.

The city of Herod on the western side was wholly taken up with the palace of Herod, (a wicked but magnificent prince,) for cost excessive, and for strength invincible, containing gardens, groves, fish-ponds, and places devised for pleasure, besides those for exercise; fortified with three towers at the corners of it, that on the south-east of the wall, fifty

cubits high, of excellent workmanship, called Mariamne's tower in memory of his beloved but insolent wife, rashly murdered by him. Opposite to which, on the south-west corner, stood the tower of Phaselus, so called from the name of his brother, seventy cubits high, and in form resembling the Egyptian Pharos. And on the north wall, upon a high hill, stood the tower of Hippic, exceeding both the others in height by fourteen cubits, and having on the top two spires in memory of the two Hippici, his very dear friends, that were slain fighting in his service.

On the south side stood that part called *the old city*, possessed, if not built, by the Jebusites, and here was the mountain and the fort of Sion. It was afterwards called *the city of David*, because taken by him, who built upon it a strong and magnificent castle, the royal court and mansion of succeeding kings. In the west part stood the tower of David, and a double palace erected by Herod, one part of which he called Agrippa, and the other Cæsar, raised of marble, and every where interlaid with gold, and not far off lay the house of Annas and Caiaphas, to which the conspirators led our Saviour to receive his trial.

The lower city stood more in the valley, and was called *the daughter of Sion*, because built after it, and did in majesty and greatness exceed the mother. Here upon mount Moriah was the temple of Solomon, and between it and mount Sion upon another hill, the place which he built for his wife the daughter of the king of Egypt, and that which he made for himself, from which, by a high bridge, he had a way to the temple. West of this, upon a lofty rock overlooking the city, stood the royal palace of the Mac-

BOOK VI. cabean princes, reedified and dwelt in by king Agrippa; and not far off was the theatre of Herod, adorned with admirable pictures, expressing the many victories and triumphs of Augustus Cæsar. In this part also stood mount Acra, and on that once a citadel built by Antiochus king of Syria, but rased by Simon one of the Maccabean brothers because it overlooked the temple. Helena queen of Adiabene, converted from paganism to the Jewish religion, dwelt and died in this part of the city. And here Herod made an amphitheatre capacious enough to contain eighty thousand persons, whom he entertained with such shows and spectacles that were in use among the Romans. In this part also, upon a high and craggy rock, stood the tower of Baris, upon which Herod built a strong and impregnable citadel in honour of Marc Antony, whose creature he first was, and called it Antonia. It had a fair and large tower at every corner, two of them fifty cubits high, and the others seventy, afterwards garrisoned by the Romans, lest the Jews, presuming on the strength of the temple, should take occasion to rebel.

The new city lay north to the city of Herod, and was once no more than a suburb to the rest, inhabited by none but mechanical persons and the meanest tradesmen, but afterwards surrounded by Agrippa, with a wall of twenty-five cubits high, and fortified with many turrets; the whole city, as was said before, was defended with a wonderful circumvallation on all sides, having a ditch cut out of the main rock sixty foot deep, and no less than two hundred and fifty foot in breadth.

CHAP. II.

A description of Jerusalem, by Josephus.

JOSEPHUS, the Jewish historian, has from his own observation given a more particular description of this city, which, in justice to the subject, may properly be inserted in this place. CH AP. I. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 6.

The city of Jerusalem was surrounded with a triple wall on every side, except on that part where it was enclosed with valleys inaccessible; for it had only one wall on that side. It was built upon two little hills, the one of them opposite to the other, and separated from each other by a valley which was covered over with houses; one of these hills, upon which stood the upper town, is far higher and steeper than the other, insomuch, that upon the account of the strength of it, king David, the father of Solomon that erected the temple, gave it the name formerly of *the fortress*, or *castle*, and this is it which we call at this day *the upper market.*

The lower town is seated upon another hill, that bears the name of Acra, with a steep declivity round about it. There was formerly another hill also over against this, somewhat lower than the Acra, and divided from that by a large valley: but in the time of the Asamonæans their princes filled up this bottom; and cutting off from the hill Acra, they joined the town to the temple, by which means it overlooked and commanded all the rest.

The name of the valley aforesaid, that separates the upper town from the lower is Tyropæon, and it stretches as far as to the fountain of Siloe, that affords an excellent water to drink, and great plenty of it. There are likewise without the town two other

BOOK VI. mountains next to inaccessible, by the crags and precipices every where round about them.

The oldest of the three walls was extremely strong, by reason of the depth of the valley below and the overhanging of the rock from above whereupon it was erected. And beside the natural advantage of the situation, it had all the helps that David and Solomon, and several other princes, could contribute to the further strengthening of it by art, industry, and expense. It begun on that side at the tower Hippicos, and so to another tower called *the galleries*, running along by the town-house to the west porch of the temple. It passed on the other side, reckoning from the same place by Bethso down to the Essene-gate, and so southward by the fountain of Siloe; where it strikes off to the eastward, toward the pool of Solomon, and thence by Ophlas to the east porch of the temple.

The second wall begins at Genath, and the gate belonging to the former wall, and so runs on upon the north side of the city to the fort Antonia.

The third wall begun at the tower Hippicos, and so ran northward to that of Psephinos, over against St. Helena's sepulchre, the queen of Adiabena and daughter of king Izates, keeping along by the royal caves, from the tower at the corner towards that which they call *the fuller's monument*, whence it came up to the old wall in the vale of Cedron; and this was the compass of it. This wall was the work of Agrippa, for the security of that part of the town that he had built, which was otherwise naked and defenceless. The city was by this time grown so populous that the place was too narrow for the inhabitants, so that by little and little they

crept out into a kind of suburbs; and on the north side of the temple, next the hill, their buildings increased extremely. CHAP. II.

There was a fourth mountain that fronted Antonia, with ditches cut out of a prodigious depth betwixt them, insomuch that there was no coming at the foundation of Antonia to undermine it; beside that the sinking of the trench added so much to the height of the tower. They gave the fourth mountain the name of Bezeth, or the New Town, being an enlargement only of the former. When this place came to be inhabited, the people earnestly desired to have it fortified; and Agrippa, the father of this king of the same name, modelled his design, and ran up this wall about it, as you have heard: but upon a fancy coming into his head, that Claudius Cæsar might perhaps take some offence and jealousy at the ostentation of so magnificent a work, Agrippa went no further than the laying of the foundation, and so dropt the project; but if he had gone on, Jerusalem could never have been taken.

The stones of this wall were twenty cubits in length, and ten over, and so hard and firm withal, that they were proof either against mining or battery. The wall was also ten cubits thick, and they would have been answerably high in proportion, if the fear of Claudius (as I told you) had not put a stop to Agrippa's design. The Jews, it is true, carried up the wall afterwards to twenty cubits, with battlements of two cubits at the top, and parapets of three, which in all make five and twenty cubits. The wall was fortified with towers of twenty cubits square, every jot as substantial as the very wall, and not inferior for strength and beauty to the

BOOK VI. stones and workmanship of the temple itself. These towers were raised twenty cubits above the wall, with winding staircases leading up to them, lodgings and eating-rooms on the top, and cisterns for rain-water. Upon the third wall there were ninety towers, all of a make, and at the equal distance of two hundred cubits one from another. The middle wall had only fourteen towers, the old wall sixty, and thirty-three furlongs was the compass of the whole city.

The third wall was all over a wonderful piece of workmanship from the one end to the other, but yet not comparable to the tower called Psephinos; it stands upon an angle of the wall, north-west of the city, upon that quarter where Titus had encamped. The height of it was seventy cubits, and so advantageous a prospect, that in a clear day one might see Arabia from it, the sea, and the utmost confines of the Hebrews. The figure of it was with eight angles. Just against this was the tower Hippicos, and there was near at hand two other towers of Herod's erecting, upon the old wall, which for size, curiosity, and strength, were looked upon as the most famous masterpieces in the world; for the king, over and above the natural greatness of his mind, gratified the impulse of his inclination also, in doing all he could for the good and glory of the city. He dedicated his three towers to the honour and memory of the three persons he had the greatest esteem for in the world, his brother, his friend, and his wife; the two former having signalized themselves by dying gloriously upon the field of battle, the other being put to death in a freak of jealousy.

The tower of Hippicos (the name of one of his friends) had four angles, five and twenty cubits over,

and thirty in height, and the whole body of it solid. CHAP. II.
Above this was a platform of stone accurately joined, and a receptacle for rain-water of twenty cubits deep. Over this terrace were yet two stories of five and twenty cubits each, and divided into several chambers or quarters; and over this building were battlements of two cubits high, and parapets of three cubits all around, amounting in the whole to the height of eighty-five cubits.

Herod called the second tower Phasael, by the name of his brother. It was forty cubits square, and in height, after the manner of a pillar, all massive within from top to bottom. And about this was a porch of ten cubits high, supported with arches, and set out with other curiosities. Over the middle of this porch was another with rich baths and apartments to it, suitable to the magnificence of the royal founder. On the top of it were battlements and fortifications, the whole height of the tower falling little short of ninety cubits. It had at a distance some resemblance of the watch tower of Pharos, the famous sea-mark to those that sailed towards Alexandria, only much the larger of the two, and at this time the residence of Simon that tyrannical oppressor.

Herod gave the third tower the name of Queen Mariamne his wife. It was twenty cubits square, length and breadth, and five and fifty cubits high. It must be allowed, that the structure, the rooms, and the furniture of the two other towers were rich and pompous; but they were yet as much below the curiosity, the beauty, and the ornaments of this, as this fell short of the strength and dignity of the other two; the king rightly distinguishing betwixt

BOOK VI. the masculine virtues of the two heroes, Hippicos and Phasael, and the soft tenderness of a fair lady in the person of Mariamne.

Now as to these three towers, the height was prodigious, and yet the place they were raised upon made it seem much more than it was; for the old wall they stood upon was itself erected upon a very high piece of ground, and the turrets again were advanced upon the top of a mountain that was yet thirty cubits higher than the ancient wall. Neither were they less admirable for the materials they were made of than for the structure. The stones were neither common, nor of a weight to be removed with hands, but of white marble cut out into planks of twenty cubits long, ten in breadth, and five cubits deep, and so artificially put together, that there were no joints to be seen, but every distinct tower looked like one entire piece.

This was on the north side of the city; and just within it there stood a royal palace so rich and curious, that it is not for the tongue of man to express it. Besides that it was all enclosed with a wall of thirty cubits in height, and turrets of the best work and masters, planted at equal distance one from another, round about it, with splendid lodgings and treating rooms, to receive an hundred persons; there was an incredible collection of the choicest marbles, for variety and beauty, that could be gotten for money. The beams and timbers that supported the roofs were for length and thickness beyond imagination; and so were the ornamental additions toward the finishing of the work. There were a world of chambers with commodious passages and contrivances innumerable, for sight as

well as for conveniences; the whole being magnificently set out and furnished with all the advantages of gold and silver, and whatever else was precious. There were also porches and galleries in abundance, leading in a kind of circle from one to another, and in each of them a row of pillars. Now for the distances betwixt those pillars that lay to the open air, nothing could be more agreeable than the prospect of so many groves and nurseries of so many several plants, long and pleasant walks beset with cisterns and fountains, pipes and brasen figures to spout out water, with volaries of tame pigeons, gathering about it for refreshment. But it is impossible for any man to do this palace right, in the description of it; besides, that my very heart bleeds at the very thought of the story, to consider what a devastation hath been made by an impious crew of incendiaries and traitors; for this conflagration was not the work of the Romans, but of a band of wicked miscreants, as we have already observed upon the beginning of this section, who burnt all from the fort Antonia, and then carrying it on to the palace, set fire to the roofs of the three towers. CHAP. II.

The temple was built upon a very hard rock, which was so steep on all hands, that at first there was scarce ground sufficient on the top of it for the temple, and the enclosure that was to be about it. But when king Solomon erected this fabric, he ordered the running up of a wall to the eastward of it to keep up the earth, and having so secured it, he built a porch upon the rampart. There was not, as yet, any other fortification, but the people carrying up earth from time to time afterwards to supply the defect, the hill came by degrees to be enlarged.

BOOK VI. They brake down, some time after this, the north wall, and took in as much ground thereto as served in time to come for the foundation of the whole temple.

The design succeeding so much beyond expectation, they encompassed the hill with three walls, but with a prodigious expense of time and treasure; for it was not only a work of many ages, but the whole mass of religious oblations from all parts of the world to the honour and service of God and his worship was spent upon this undertaking, occasioning the charge as well of the upper as of the lower temple; which latter was erected upon a foundation of three hundred cubits deep, and in some places more; but the depth did not appear, in regard that the valley was now filled up to the very level of the streets in the city. The stones provided for this mighty undertaking were of forty cubits in length, which gave them to understand that there was nothing impossible where there was money and goodwill; and that constancy, time, and patience could work miracles.

As the foundations were wonderful, so the dignity of the superstructure was not inferior to that of the groundwork. The galleries about were all double, upheld by pillars of white marble, all of a piece, and five and twenty cubits in height, and was wainscoted with cedar, which, for the curiosity of the work and the smoothness of the grain, was a delightful entertainment to the spectator, without any additional ornaments, either of painting or carving. They were all thirty cubits over, and six stadia the whole compass of them, including the tower Antonia. In the open air, where there was no covering overhead,

the ground was paved and chequered with all sorts of stones; but the way to the second temple was lined on each hand with stone balusters, delicately wrought and polished, of three cubits high. In this passage there were also several pillars orderly disposed, with inscriptions and precepts upon them in Latin and Greek, upon the subject of continence and chastity, and forbidding strangers to enter into that holy place; for the second temple was called holy, and it was fourteen steps above the first. The figure of it was four-square, with a wall of its own, which, though forty cubits without, was yet but five and twenty within, the place being covered with the steps that led to mount it. Now this wall being built upon an advance ground, with stairs to it, part of the inside was so blinded with the mountain that it could not be discerned. CHAP. II.

At the top of these fourteen steps there was a plain level of three hundred cubits up to the wall, and from thence five steps more to the gates of the temple. There were also four from the north, as many from the south, and two from the east.

The women had an oratory, or a worshipping place, by themselves, with a partition wall to it, and two gates, one to the south, the other north, which were the only two passages of entrance to the women; neither were they permitted to pass their own; for that place was free indifferently to women, inhabitants as well as strangers, that came thither upon devotion. The west side of it was a dead wall without any door at all. Betwixt the aforesaid gates, and over against the wall within, near the treasury, there were galleries with stately

BOOK VI. pillars to support them, plain and simple, and not much inferior to those below.

Some of the gates were plated over with gold and silver, posts, front, and all; but there was one without the temple of Corinthian brass, which is much the richer metal of the three. There were double doors to every gate; each thirty cubits high and fifteen broad. They were wider within, and withdrawing rooms on each hand of thirty cubits square, after the manner of turrets, and upward of twenty cubits high; and each of them borne up with pillars of twenty cubits in thickness; the other gates being of the same dimension in proportion. As for the Corinthian portal, on the east side of the temple, where the women came in, it was undoubtedly the largest and most magnificent of them all; for it was fifty cubits high, the gates forty, and the gold and silver plates upon it more substantial than those that Alexander, the father of Tiberius, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen steps from the wall, that parted the men and the women, to the great gate, which was five short of those that led to the other gates.

The temple itself, that is to say, the holy temple, or sanctuary, was placed in the middle with twelve stairs to it. The height of it was an hundred cubits, and the breadth as many in the front, but backward it wanted forty of the number; for upon the entrance there were two additions raised (like two shoulders) of twenty cubits each. The height of the first gate was seventy cubits, and five and twenty over, but it had no doors to it, being a figure of heaven, open and visible to the whole world. The front and outsides of it were all over gilt, and no-

thing to be seen in the inside of the temple neither, which had not likewise a dazzling lustre. CHAP. II.

The inner part of it was divided into two partitions. The first of them in sight was open to the top, which was ninety cubits in height, forty in length, twenty over. The inside of the gate was, as I said, plated all over with gold, and the wall gilt everywhere about it. There were also leaves and branches of vines over head, and huge clusters of grapes, that hung dangling down betwixt five and six foot deep, all of gold too. The other partition of the temple being ceiled above appeared the lower of the two. The doors to it were of gold; five and fifty cubits in height, and sixteen broad, with a piece of Babylonian tapestry hanging between them of the same dimension, and interwoven with blue, purple, and scarlet, most artificially put together, and wrought to admiration. And the mixture was not a bare curiosity neither, but a mystical allusion to the four elements, either by the colours, or by the matter they were made of; the scarlet representing the fire, the silk the earth that produced it, the azure the air, and the purple the sea from whence it comes: so that this veil or hanging was, in little, an emblem of the universe, only excepting the celestial signs.

This entrance leads you into the lower part of the temple: the height and length of it sixty cubits, and the breadth of it twenty. The length of sixty cubits was then subdivided into two unequal parts, one of forty cubits and the other of twenty. The former part of forty cubits had in it the three wonderful rarities that had been celebrated over the whole world, the candlestick, the table, and the altar of

BOOK VI. incense. The candlestick had seven branches, (all out of the same stem,) with seven lights representing the seven planets. The twelve loaves of shewbread upon the table pointed at the twelve signs in the zodiac, and the course of the year. By the thirteen sorts of perfumes in the centre upon the altar of incense, (divers of these odours being extracted out of the deep of the inhospitable sea,) we are given to understand that God is master of the universe, and that all things are made for his honour and service.

The inner part of the temple, being only twenty cubits in height, was divided by a veil also from the other, and nothing at all in it; neither was any man permitted to enter, or so much as to look into it, and it was called *the sanctuary*, or *holy of holies*. Upon the sides of this lower temple there were several lodgings, leading from one to another, with three stories overhead, and passages into them out of the great portal. Now the upper part, being more narrow than the other, could not have the conveniences of the same order of chambers, but it was forty cubits higher, though the less splendid of the two. The height, in fine, upon the whole was an hundred cubits, and the plan only sixty.

The beauty and curiosity of the temple on the outside was agreeable and charming beyond imagination, it being faced everywhere with substantial golden plates that sparkled like the morning sun, and every jot as dazzling to the eye, to gaze upon them. Where there was no building, the structure was all so delicately white, that it looked at a distance, to travellers, like a marble mountain, or a pillar of snow.

The roof of the temple was covered and armed all over with pointed spears of gold, to keep off the birds from nesting upon it, and fouling it. There were a great many stones in this building of forty-five cubits long, five in height, and six cubits broad.

The fortress of Antonia was built in an angle, betwixt the two galleries of the first temple, looking west and north. It was raised upon a rock of fifty cubits in height; inaccessibly steep on all hands, and in fine, Herod's masterpiece, both for magnificence and contrivance. The rock was faced and crusted with thin scales of marble, from the bottom to the top, both for ornament and security sake; for it was so slippery that there was no going up or down. This tower was enclosed with a wall, only of three cubits high, and within that compass stood the castle of Antonia of forty cubits, with the state, splendour, and conveniences of a court, lodgings and offices for all purposes, spacious halls, and places of parade for the use and service of a camp. So that for matter of necessaries, it was rather a city than a fort; and for the magnificence, it looked like a palace. It was upon the whole the resemblance of a tower, and encompassed with four other towers, at equal distances one from another, and one from every corner. Three of them of fifty cubits in height, and the fourth that looked to the south and eastward, of seventy cubits; and from thence they had the view of the whole temple. From the place where the galleries joined, there were upon the right and left two pair of stairs, which served for a passage to the soldiers into the temple; for when the Romans were masters of Jerusalem, there were guards posted still upon that quarter, to prevent

BOOK VI. seditions upon their public festivals and meetings. The temple commanded the city, as Antonia commanded the temple. The place had a guard upon it, and Herod's palace was as good as a fort to the upper town. The mountain Bezeth (the top mountain of them all) was cut off, as I said before, from Antonia, and joined to part of the town; besides that it was the only blind upon the north side of the temple.

De Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 18. Jerusalem (says the same historian in another place) was taken and utterly destroyed in the second year of Vespasian, and on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus, having been five times taken before, that is, by Azochæus king of Egypt, Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, Pompey and Herod, with Socius, who did all preserve the city after it was taken; but Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon laid it waste thirteen hundred sixty years eight months and six days after the building of it.

The first founder of it was a Canaanitish prince called Melchizedek, which in the Hebrew language signifies *a just king;* for such he was in an eminent manner. He first dedicated this city to God, erected a temple in it, and officiated in the quality of a priest, giving it the name of Jerusalem, which before was called Solyma.

When David, the king of the Jews, came afterwards to drive out the Canaanites, he planted his own people there, and in four hundred seventy-seven years and three months after this it was laid waste by the Babylonians.

From the reign of David there, to the destruction of the city by Titus, it was eleven hundred and seventy-nine years, and two thousand one hundred

seventy-seven from the foundation of it. But neither antiquity, wealth, fame, nor the honour of the religion itself, was any security against the appointments of fate. CHAP. II.

This was, in fine, the issue of the siege; and when the soldiers had neither rapine nor bloodshed for their spleen to work upon, (as they would not have been idle, had they had matter,) Titus ordered them to lay the city and temple level with the ground, and to leave nothing standing but the three famous turrets, Phasael, Hippicos, and Mariamne, that topped all the rest, and a piece of wall to the westward of the town, which he designed a garrison: the towers to remain as so many monuments to posterity of the Roman power and conduct in the taking of them. This order was punctually executed, and all the rest laid so flat, that the place looked as if it had never been inhabited. This was the end of the Jerusalem faction, a mad and a seditious people; and this was also the end of the most glorious city of the universe.

CHAP. III.

The privileges belonging to the city of Jerusalem, according to the Jewish rabbins.

MANY are the traditions of the Jewish doctors concerning the dignity and the privileges that belonged to the city of Jerusalem, which, I think, will serve to illustrate the subject I am upon. Jerusalem, say they, was not divided among the tribes, yet it was divided between the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, and the distinguishing line went through the very court of the temple. The mountain of the Bab. Joma fol. 12. 1.

BOOK VI. temple, the chambers of them that kept it, and the courts were in the lot of Judah. The porch of the temple, and the temple, and the holy of holies, was in the lot of Benjamin; and a line went out of the lot of Judah, and passed on in the lot of Benjamin, and in it was the altar built; and in so exact distinction were these lots observed, that the south-east corner of the altar had no foundation, because that small part was in the portion of Judah, when the whole altar ought to have been within the portion of Benjamin.

Maimon. in Bethhabbetch. c. 7. Jerusalem (they go on) was holy above all other cities, girt with walls, because in it they eat the lighter holy things, and the second tithe. They do not suffer a dead body to remain a night in this city; they do not carry the bones of a dead body through it; they do not let out houses in it, to such as come to the feast, but give them their lodging gratis; they do not let out a place to a proselyte inhabitant. In it they do not allow a sepulchre, except the sepulchres of the house of David, and that of Huldah the prophetess; nor in it do they suffer a dunghill, for fear of pollution by creeping things; nor do they set up scaffolds in the streets against the walls, by reason of defilement; nor in it do they make chimneys, by reason of the smoke; nor do they breed up cocks, lest they should scratch up the bones of creeping things, from whence holy things, which were to be eaten, might be polluted; nor do the priests nourish cocks through the whole land of Israel, for the sake of purity; nor is there in it a house for shutting up the suspected of the leprosy; nor is it polluted with leprosy; nor is it become any way a city to be cursed for idolatry.

Never did serpent or scorpion harm any one within Jerusalem; nor has a fire or desolation happened there; nor do they make paradises or plant gardens, except gardens of roses, which were there from the days of the former prophets, because of the stink arising from the weeds that are thrown out, and rot upon the ground. CHAP. III. Avoch. c. 5. hal. 5.

Nor is the temple, if you believe the Talmudists, without its wonders. Many miracles, they tell you, were done for their fathers in the sanctuary. No woman ever miscarried by the smell of the holy flesh, nor did the holy flesh ever stink or breed worms; nor was there ever seen a fly in the house, or a place for slaughter; nor did ever the gonorrhœa happen to the priest upon the day of expiation; nor did rains put out the fire of the altar, nor the wind prevail over the pillar of smoke; nor was any profane thing found in the sheaf of the first-fruits, or the two loaves of the high priest, or in the shewbread. Avoch. ubi supra.

But the rights and honours that belonged to this holy city are related with great judgment and exactness by Cunæus; with which I shall conclude this chapter. Among all the cities most eminent was the sanctity of Jerusalem, and (as the Talmud delivers) it remained perpetual, ever since the dedication by the most glorious king Solomon. That Ezra should consecrate it again was unnecessary, for it was not capable to be profaned like other cities by the hands of the sacrilegious; whence it came to pass (as the tradition is) that it was lawful to sacrifice at Jerusalem, and to feast upon the sacrifices, even in the dust and ashes of the destroyed city. But how great was the religion of the place, appeared by De Rep. Hebr. lib. i. c. 7.

BOOK VI. those Jews whom Adrian the emperor permitted once a year to visit the deformed relics of the holy city, and there to lament and deplore the misery of their nation. This city was not assigned by lot unto any one tribe, but was common to them all; wherefore the Talmudists free it from that law, which commands the blood privately shed in the borders of the tribes to be expiated by slaying of a heifer. This which follows is not from superstition, but from the ancient and approved custom of the nation. Maimonides relates, that if any had an upper room so high that it gave them a prospect to the holy of holies, they might indeed go up once a week to see all safe, but oftener, or for other reasons, they might not; and therefore king Agrippa gave great offence to his people, when from a lofty room, in his palace, he took a frequent view of the temple, and saw from above what was done within it. The Jews thinking this to be an unsufferable thing, raised a high wall to cut off the king's prospect, and immediately sent ten ambassadors to Rome, with Ishmael the high priest, and Eleazar the treasurer, to petition Nero for a confirmation of that which religion had compelled the people to do.

What Hecatæus of Abdera says in Flavius Josephus, that Jerusalem was of fifty furlongs compass, inhabited by an hundred and twenty thousand persons, were not so material for us to know; but that there is something of singular note concerning the enlargement of their *pomœria*, which Maimonides has declared out of the Talmudical books; and this it is: In the enlargement of the city, the great senate of the sanhedrim, and the king, and one prophet, consulted the oracle called the Urim and Thum-

mim. After they had agreed among themselves about the interpretation of the divine answer, the senators of the sanhedrim recited two verses of thanksgiving; and having taken two loaves of leavened bread, and departing presently with instruments of music, made a stand at the turning of every street, and at all monuments erected in the city, and pronounced these words: *I will extol thee, O Lord, because thou hast lifted me up.* At last, when they were come to the place designed for consecration, because it was to be the bound of their *pomœria*, they all stopped, and there of the two loaves taken with them, after the verses sung, they eat one, the other they burnt in the flames. These things received from their ancestors, the Talmudical writers have thus left upon record; nor are they improbable, since the like, and almost the same, are extant in the twelfth chapter of Nehemiah's commentaries; yet in after-times the liberty of the Jews being oppressed by the Romans, this prolation of their *pomœria* depended not upon the pleasure of their great council, but of the Roman people. Cornelius Tacitus likewise relates, that the Jews with a great sum of money purchased leave to fortify; from whence it appears, that the queen of cities, Jerusalem, was in the same condition with all towns under the Roman power, whose walls could not be repaired without the authority of the prince or governor, nor any thing joined to them, or set upon them. And truly Claudius Cæsar, when he had received intelligence that they were enclosing Jerusalem with a mighty wall, admonished Agrippa of that new attempt; and thereupon the king, in obedience to the emperor, left off the work he had undertaken. CHAP. III.

BOOK VI. Jerusalem was the capital city, the seat of religion, and holy rites; therefore that being overthrown, there fell with it the form of the Jewish republic, both civil and sacred. What Flavius says of a voice heard out of the temple before the destruction of the city, "Let us go hence," seems to me to signify nothing less, than that the commonwealth was to be dissolved, and the sceptre to be taken away, which of old was given to the holy nation; for within a short time the orders and functions and rites, and almost all their laws, ceased, and there followed great confusion, desolation, and distraction. The most sacred college of the Hasideans, that drew its original from the prophets, was now no more, because their custom was to go every day to the temple, and to bestow voluntary charges upon sacrifices, and upon the porches and walls of the sanctuary. And whereas Moses imposed upon strangers, that should become proselytes, the oblation of some certain gift, this upon the dissolution began to be deferred altogether till another time, when the third sanctuary, which they yet expect, shall be built. Nor do they any more marry their brothers' widows who have no children. And the solemnity of the passover never since that time has been rightly celebrated; for the law commanded it should be kept in that place wherein God had chosen to fix the seat of his house. Of so much consequence was the fall of one city; it has changed and perverted all things, and brought to ruin the republic of the greatest people in the world.

CHAP. IV.

Of the patriarchs of the Jews, or heads of captivity in the west.

THE ruin of Jerusalem was the cause that the Jews were very much dispersed; whilst those who had escaped the sword of the Romans, and the flames which reduced Jerusalem and its temple to ashes, or who, after the desolation of this great city, were not sold in the market, as slaves and horses, sought out places of sanctuary and retreat: one they found in the east, and at Babylon, where there was still a great number of those that had been carried away captive in the ancient wars; it being natural for them to go and implore the charity of their brethren, who had raised themselves there to considerable fortunes. Others took refuge in Egypt, where there had been likewise for a long time Jews potent and rich enough to receive these miserable people: but they carried with them their spirit of sedition and rebellion, which occasioned a fresh massacre of them. The rabbins affirm, that the considerable families were, even at this time, transported into Spain, which they called *Sepharad;* in which country are still the remains of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, and the descendants of the house of David: whereupon the Spanish Jews have always looked upon those of other nations with contempt, as if the blood-royal and the distinction of the tribes were better preserved among them. We will examine in the sequel, whether they are well grounded. At present let us observe that there was a fourth class of Jews, who with juster pretensions might boast of their origin. These remained in their coun- CHAP. IV.

BOOK VI. try, either in the ruins of Jerusalem, or the neighbouring places, where they distinguished themselves by gathering up a little body of their nation, and by the employs they exercised. The rabbins also affirm, that Titus removed the sanhedrim to Japhne, or Jamnia, and that two academies were erected, one at Tiberias, and the other at Lydda. Lastly, they maintain, that there was also at that time a patriarch, who having first laboured to reestablish religion, and his forlorn church, extended his authority over all the synagogues of the west; and it is of these western patriarchs of the Jews I will first treat, before I give the history of the Babylonish captivity.

Every body knows that the eastern Jews sent their offerings annually to Jerusalem, all the time the temple stood. They came themselves thither in multitudes to worship; and these multitudes of strangers were sometimes so great, that they startled the Roman governor of Judæa, and made him acquaint the emperor with it; as fearing some potent succours might come from thence, to relieve their oppressed brethren, and defend their religion, annexed to the temple of Jerusalem.

But when the temple and altars were demolished, and the custom of sacrificing abolished, the eastern Jews ceased coming to worship at Jerusalem, and began to despise that part of their nation which was in the west, or was miserable in Judæa: insensibly they became divided into two different parties, one of which, that inhabited Egypt, Judæa, Italy, and the other parts of the Roman empire, were called *western Jews*, in opposition to those who were settled at Babylon, in Chaldea, Assyria, and

Persia, which were called *eastern Jews.* In process of time they had different doctors and heads. The heads of the west, who lived in Judæa, styled themselves *patriarchs*, and the heads of the east, *princes of the captivity.* CHAP. IV.

The Jews make a great difference betwixt the patriarchs of Judæa and the princes of the Babylonish captivity, calling the latter *rabbana*, and the others simply *rabban:* they maintain that the princes descended from David in a direct male-line, whereas the patriarchs proceeded only from the females: they say that the house of David has its whole vigour, because there are still illustrious persons of this family at Bagdad, out of which are chosen the chiefs of the nation, as has been ever done time out of mind.

Jerusalem being destroyed, and the people dispersed in divers places, there remained only a small number of the priests and laity, who endeavoured to settle themselves in Judæa: the remainder of the priests and Levites laboured to gather up the shattered relics of their nation; for which Tiberias and Japhne seemed the properest places. The authority was then entire in the hands of the priests, who were best instructed in the law they were willing to preserve, and the fittest to teach it to the people. The house of David was almost extinct: his descendants, reduced to get their bread by the tillage of a few acres of land, had for a long time laid aside the thoughts of reestablishing the throne of their ancestors. The people were still less mindful of restoring them, or even of giving them any shadow of authority, because this would have stirred up the jealousy of the Romans, and reawakened their cruelty. Agrippa,

BOOK VI. the last of the Herodian family, was gone to Rome, where he lived as a private person, far from any design of assuming the empire of the nation. So that if there was any shadow of superiority among the Jews that remained at Tiberias, it fell into the hands of the priests, of the race of Levi and Aaron, whom their science and understanding of the law raised above the vulgar. It is easy to conclude, that this could be no great authority in so astonishing a desolation as was that of the Jews. They were only a parcel of poor fugitives, whose misery had made them slighted and despised of the Romans; but insensibly their authority increased proportionably as the people grew numerous and potent; and as the chief of every class of priests was called *rosch abbot*, the chief or head of the fathers, they took the title of *patriarch*, which signifies the same in Greek, a language better known than Hebrew in the Roman empire. And thus the heads of the captivity in Judæa were not of the house of David, but of the tribe of Levi.

This patriarch was the head of the nation in all the west, (the prince of the captivity was in the east,) Egypt, and the neighbouring places where there were any Jews depending on him. He decided cases of conscience, and the important affairs of the nation; he presided over the synagogues; he levied tributes to defray the expenses of his visits; he had officers under him which circuited the provinces to execute his orders. In a word, he obtained by degrees a very great authority over all the dispersed Jews, who were proud to acknowledge him for their chief, and to depend on him, whereby to maintain some shadow of union. Besides the patri-

arch, the Jews placed doctors over their academies, CHAP. IV.
to whom they commonly gave the title of *heads* and *princes;* either to raise the dignity of the office, or to testify the veneration disciples have and ought to have for their masters. These heads of the academies were commonly rivals of the patriarchs, and there were sometimes violent contests betwixt them. The same person also sometimes exercised both these offices, which causes a great deal of confusion: however, they must be distinguished.

If we credit the Jews, the institution of the patriarchs preceded the ruin of the temple an hundred years; for they tell you, that thirty years before the birth of Christ, Hillel, surnamed the Babylonian, (because he came from that country,) arrived at Jerusalem, and was consulted about the celebration of the passover, which fell that year upon a Saturday. His answer was so satisfactory, that they made him patriarch of the nation, and his posterity succeeded him down to the fifth century of the Christian church, in which the patriarchs of Judæa were abolished.

They made a second Moses of this first patriarch, because he lived an hundred and twenty years as that legislator; forty years of them he spent in obscurity; at fourscore he was chosen head of the people, and forty years after he died.

They also compare him to Esdras, because like that sacred writer, he came from Babylon to Jerusalem. Besides that, he had his gentle temper, and other good qualities. They ascribe a thousand disciples to him, though some bring down this number to fourscore. In fine, his death was bitterly lamented with this outcry, "Where is the saint? "where is the disciple of Esdras?"

BOOK VI. Hillel is commonly made to be succeeded by Simeon, his son, in his patriarchal dignity and presidentship of the sanhedrim; and the Christians, seeing this man to bear a considerable figure among the Jews, have fancied that he was that old Simeon mentioned in the Gospel, who waited for the kingdom of God, and received Jesus Christ into his arms.

Jochanan succeeded Simeon, whose reign was short. He was not of the family of Hillel; but his merit raised him to this dignity, and superseded the laws of succession. This man is one of those whom the modern rabbins immoderately extol. He attained the age of Moses; he spent forty years in commerce, and pleading before the sanhedrim, and composed such multitudes of precepts and lessons, that if the heavens were paper, and all the trees of the forest so many pens, and all men so many secretaries, they would not suffice to write his lessons. He became prince of the nation, and reigned but two years, though some allow him five. It was he that, seeing the gates of the temple open of themselves, cried out, "O temple! temple! why dost "thou trouble thyself? We know that thou must "be destroyed; for Zechariah has prophesied it, "saying, *Mount Libanon, open thy gates, and let "the flame consume thy cedars.*" He left Jerusalem besieged, and came to Vespasian in his camp, whom he called king: Vespasian, surprised with a title which it was dangerous to receive under the empire of Nero, imposed him silence: but he answered the general, that though he was not as yet king, he should be so, since the temple was to be demolished by a king, according to Isaiah's prediction. The

Jews should at least know that Vespasian never be- CHAP. IV.
sieged Jerusalem, for he was proclaimed emperor the year before the siege, and had business enough to defend himself against Vitellius, who was supported with a great many legions. It was Titus that formed this siege, and it was then too late to predict an empire to Vespasian, which he had already. Some more exact doctors avoid the fault, by saying only, that Jochanan, waiting on this prince, discovered a profound knowledge, which rendered him so agreeable to the emperor Titus, as to obtain his leave to remove the sanhedrim to Japhne. That city, which is also called Jamnia, was situated near the Mediterranean sea, in the tribe of Dan. Here it is said a famous academy was erected, which subsisted till Akiba's death, in which were reckoned three hundred classes of scholars: and this academy was at the same time the mansion of the patriarch. Thus the Jews relate this.

Jochanan died full of a profound humility. He is made to weep and lament because his sins were to follow him before the throne of God: and whereas the kings of the earth inflict only transient punishment, which determines with life, God being more severe, difficultly pardons; and the fire into which he plunges the guilty eternally burns.

Gamaliel of Japhne, or of Dibanah, filled his place. The design was to put him to death with his father, when Jerusalem was taken; but Titus gave him life at Jochanan's request. He escaped a second time, when Turnus Rufus caused the plough to be drawn over the temple: he was so haughty and severe, that they were obliged to set bounds to his authority. Some even maintain that he was

BOOK VI. deposed; but the rabbins affirm at the same time, "that his authority was so great, that not only the "Jews throughout the universe obeyed his laws, but "foreign kings permitted the execution of them, and "not one of them opposed them." Samuel the Little lived at that time, who was the composer of the prayer against heretics, which has ever been solemnly repeated, begging of God, "that there may "be no hope for apostates: that all heretics may "perish by a sudden death: that the reign of pride "may be broken and annihilated in our days: blessed be thou, O Lord God, who destroyest the wicked, and humblest the proud."

Simeon II. his son was prince and martyr, for he was killed during the siege of Jerusalem. It is affirmed, that he was so far from extortion, and enriching himself in the temple, that he considerably abated the price of the birds which the women were obliged to buy for their purification; and his death was so regretted, that the Jews added three cups of wine to those they used to drink at the funerals of their saints and great men: they were obliged to drink ten, and they resolved to drink thirteen in memory of the first martyr that was made by the Roman emperors. They grew drunk so often, by this addition of cups, that the sanhedrim was obliged to retrench them. Judicious people will wonder to find such things produced as glorious to those they were instituted for; but the rabbins have no delicacy or good taste in their elogies: they have preserved Jochanan's answer to the question, What he did to live so long? I never made water within four cubits of an house of prayer; I have never disguised my name; I have celebrated the feast days, for which purpose my

mother sold even the ornaments of my head to pur- CHAP. IV.
chase wine, of which she left me three hundred casks when she died. That of Baba the son of Baba is more ridiculous: he was accused of being one of the most famous cuckolds of his nation: Pish, says he, what signifies it, "Semen non uritur igne, ut albu- "men ovi coagulatur calore."

These are the patriarchs that must have preceded the ruin of Jerusalem, or, according to others, immediately followed it; but to me they seem all imaginary: and indeed the scripture never mentions these princes of the nation. The Asmoneans, who at once made themselves kings and high priests, would have been far from suffering an head of a people of the race of David, whose bare presence would have reproached their usurpation: they were themselves supreme in church and state; how then would they have suffered the patriarchs? And would these princes that are made to succeed one another, from Esdras, have tolerated usurpers that dethroned them? On the other hand, Herod would never have placed a prince of the people near him, who might so closely straiten his authority. We still find in the Gospels the high priest at the head of the council; Caiaphas presides when it is deliberated about the death of Christ, and pronounces that *it is expedient that one man should die for the people.* Jesus Christ should have been carried before the prince of the nation, rather than before the high priest; for *ecclesia nescit sanguinem;* and yet he was led still before Caiaphas and Annas. It is the high priest that imposes silence on the apostles, who had been haled and accused before the sanhedrim: from him it was that Saul, going to Damascus to

BOOK VI. persecute the saints, received credential letters to the heads of the synagogues. St. Paul, when converted, appeared before Ananias, another high priest, who, as judge and head of the sanhedrim, commanded to give him a blow on the face. Is it possible the Gospel should speak so often of the high priest in all processes, and never mention the prince of the nation, who was the ordinary judge?

Besides, these princes or patriarchs are as unknown to Josephus, as to the sacred writers. He could not be ignorant of their names, succession, and privileges, if they had been established before Jerusalem was destroyed; and yet he has not said a word of these patriarchs. On the contrary, he places the high priest at the head of the council, and gives Ananias the direction of the war, which must of right have belonged to the prince of the nation, preferable to a priest; an evident proof that there were then none of these princes.

These princes must often have suffered from the persecution of the Herods, and the inconstancy of the people: how is it possible that they alone should be the only undisturbed possessors of so important a post at Jerusalem, whilst the high priest was so often deposed; and yet we see no revolution in the family of these patriarchs, where the son constantly succeeded the father; we find them neither at the head of the people, nor at the head of the church; neither in the temple, nor the city; neither among the rebels, nor those that preferred peace to the troubles of war: where could they hide themselves, and of what use were these clandestine men, on whom, at present, such mighty elogies are bestowed?

I am persuaded therefore, that we must leave to the high priests the authority of governing the church while the temple stood, and that there was then neither prince nor head of the nation, nor patriarch that presided over the sanhedrim, in a middle order betwixt the high priest and the king. After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Levites, and the priests that remained in Judæa, took on them the government of the people; but their authority was proportioned to the misery of the nation, that is, very weak and obscure. But when they began to reassume vigour, the heads of the people appeared under the title of patriarch, and their true origin was under Adrian's empire, as we shall see in the following chapter. CHAP. IV.

CHAP. V.

The dignity of the patriarchs of Judæa, or the princes of the west: their rights, privileges, and office, after the ruin of Jerusalem. Of the primates.

THE emperor Adrian being in Egypt was informed, that a patriarch sometimes came there, and that then some importuned him to worship Serapis, and others would have him worship Jesus Christ. In vain should we seek for this patriarch in Egypt among the heathens, where there never was any; and as vainly should we search for him among the Christians, as if St. Mark and St. Peter had established them at Alexandria in the infancy of the church; for that dignity was not founded among the Christians till long after the empire of Adrian, and the second age of the church. He that the emperor speaks of did not reside at Alexandria; but

BOOK VI. came there from time to time to visit the synagogue and his nation. He was not an heathen, since they would have forced him to worship Serapis; nor was he a Christian, since he refused to adore Jesus Christ: and of what religion could he be, since he equally rejected heathenism and Christianity? He was a Jew, and the patriarch of that nation which we are in search of: and here we discover the origin of that office which is absurdly made more ancient.

Titus, who dispersed the nation of the Jews, and sold the inhabitants in the market, like horses, was far from granting them a council with a supreme head. Domitian, his brother, who succeeded him, treated the Jews with great cruelty. It was only then under the empire of Nerva, which was much more gentle, that they began to take breath again; and the priests who remained in Judæa took advantage of so favourable a circumstance to restore some form of government. The first of these priests, who was the Rosch Abbot, the patriarch, began to distinguish himself from the rest. There was scarce any mention of him under the reign of Trajan, because this prince punished them severely; but he made himself known under Adrian, by the visits he made from time to time into Egypt, to take cognizance of the state of the synagogues of that country, and to collect some money for the relief of his own and the people's necessities.

Consequent to this origin, it must be owned that Simeon III, son of Gamaliel, is the first patriarch that is known to us; for he lived under the empire of Adrian. He descended in a right line from Hillel the Old, and this dignity remained in his family till the year 429 of the Christian era, when it was abolished.

This patriarch's residence was neither at Lydda nor Jamnia, as is commonly supposed, but at Tiberias, a city situate upon the banks of the lake that bears its name, and is frequently mentioned in the Gospels. Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, who built it, named it Tiberias, and its advantageous situation quickly rendered it a considerable city, and it became the metropolis of Galilee. Agrippa, being obliged to leave Rome, retired thither with his uncle. Claudius gave it him afterwards, which is the reason of its bearing the name of Claudia Tiberias in medals. Josephus seized on it during the war, and sustained a siege; but Vespasian at last made himself master of it. It abounded with fishermen; and that multitude of seamen which battered down Herod's temple, because the figures of some birds and beasts were painted in it, came from Tiberias. For the same reason we see a bark in many medals struck by this city. In another, that was struck under Trajan, we find Health surrounded with a serpent, and seated upon a mountain, from whence issued a great deal of waters, because Tiberias was famous for its waters and hot baths, which were very salutary to the sick. In a town so convenient as this, and less suspected than Jerusalem to the Romans, some Jews gathered together, and some of their priests. Here they laid the foundations of an academy, which became famous by the composition of the Misnah, and the reputation of the doctors that taught in it: and here also was the residence of the patriarch of the whole nation. CHAP. V.

The patriarch had under him considerable officers, some of which had the common title, with

BOOK VI. others, of Rosch Abbot, Patriarchs, or Heads of the Fathers, and the others were Apostles.

The patriarchs often mentioned in the imperial laws were subaltern officers to the grand patriarch. Their jurisdiction was confined to certain places. They depended on his orders, and were obliged to see them executed: they were even inferior to the heads of the synagogues; for they are constantly placed after them in the emperor's edicts: there the grand patriarch is styled Illustrious, *illustris et clarissimus*, and the Christians, who were often transported with a fierce zeal, were forbidden to affront them; whereas much less regard was had to the patriarch of the second order, to whom the emperors never granted so honourable titles.

There were also some apostles. We must not look for any great mysteries in this title, as if he that applied it to the ministers of the Jewish patriarch had a design to imitate or insult the Christians, to whom that office was venerable; or as if Jesus Christ, the true head of all the church, and of the fathers, had borrowed this expression from the Jews, as being in use among them; for the Jews' first acquaintance with these officers, and using this term, was not till after the ruin of Jerusalem; when being totally subject to the Romans, they borrowed several expressions from the Greeks; besides, the observing its signification is sufficient to inform us, that there is nothing mysterious in it. For the apostles of the Jewish patriarchs were envoys, or legates, who circuited the provinces by their masters' order, to regulate, in his name, the differences that arose betwixt private persons or in the synagogues. They had also a commission to levy the impost that

was paid annually to the patriarch, and at their re- CHAP. V.
turn they informed him in what condition they found the churches. They served him as counsellors, and bore a distinguishing character in the nation.

The patriarch's greatest revenue was the tribute or impost which he levied upon all the synagogues under his jurisdiction. It was an ancient custom in the nation, to bring or send every year a didrachm to the treasure of the temple. Moses commanded it, and they that limit this tribute to the time of the legislature have not read Josephus, who asserts that it was paid still in his time. Most interpreters also believe that it was this tribute which was demanded of our Lord in Galilee, because the capitation imposed by the Romans was much greater, and proportioned to the substance of the persons that paid it. Besides, the collectors of the empire would not have been so civil to Jesus Christ, as to ask his disciple whether he would pay it, but would have exacted it with more rigour. The didrachm was the half of a sicle, which was worth about our fifteenpence. It is said there was upon this coin an harp on one side, and a vine on the other. But since it is certain, that the rod of Aaron and the urn of manna were engraven upon the sicles, I see no reason why they should change this signature, to put another upon the semisicles. It is true, the remote synagogues changed their silver into gold for the conveniency of carriage, but those of Judæa made use of the common money.

The Talmudists affirm, that proclamation was made every year in the synagogues, with the sound of trumpets, to mind them of the payment of their

BOOK VI. tax, and that the last day of May was the utmost term for the payment: it is much more certain that the synagogues had need of the emperor's warrant, and a particular order to levy this money, after Judæa and a part of Syria were conquered. At least Josephus has related Agrippa's letters, and Augustus's order, permitting the synagogues of Asia and Egypt to send their money to Jerusalem; and if it be true, that it was the ecclesiastical tribute which our Lord paid at Capernaum, we must not seek for the civility of the exactors in the corruptions of those times, as the learned Grotius does. It proceeded rather from this, that the farmers, who had not perhaps as yet received the emperor's permission, or who durst not ask it of Tiberius, for fear of being refused, could not constrain anybody, and obliged none to pay, but who did it voluntarily, and out of devotion. For this reason the receiver at Capernaum asked St. Peter, whether his master would pay the didrachm.

The emperor seized this tribute after the ruin of Jerusalem. Domitian exacted it with a severity answerable to his insatiable avarice. Nerva relaxed a part of it, which the patriarch of the Jews, who then began first to appear, appropriated to himself.

The patriarch exacted this tribute of all the synagogues of the west. He especially drew great sums out of Egypt, where the Jews had been long established, and were rich; and to do it the easier, he went thither in person. There it was that the emperor Adrian heard of this head of the nation. There Origen knew another of these patriarchs, unless we had rather say he had seen him in Judæa,

when he retired there to avoid the insults and persecutions of the bishop of Alexandria. St. Epiphanius says, that the apostles went to make their levies as far as the provinces of Cilicia; and we see by the imperial laws, that they came into all the provinces of the empire, where there were any Jews. CHAP. V.

This power was often abused; for covetous or necessitous patriarchs rendered themselves odious to the nation, by their vexatious ways of gathering of money. They exacted the tribute with such severity, that the people complained of it, and published their complaints, presenting a petition to Julian the apostate, to be freed from it. The emperor not only received them favourably, but abolished the impost, and forbade the payment, "that the people," said he, "being discharged from all taxes, and enjoying an "happy liberty, may pray more ardently for the "prosperity of the empire." This artful prince was in the right; for the people never pray so earnestly to God for the sovereign, as when he lessens the taxes, though they appear necessary for the preservation of the church, and the subsistence of its prime ministers.

Besides the tribute which the synagogues paid the patriarch, he had also a great authority over them: first he nominated their heads, who often bought this dignity of him. Palladius, a zealous defender of St. Chrysostom, actually charged the patriarch of his time with his selling ecclesiastical dignities; and that the easier to enrich himself, he deposed those he had set over the synagogues, that he might draw a new sum of money from other candidates. Thus the Greek patriarchs at Constantinople

BOOK VI. often depose the metropolitans and bishops of their own creation, that they may more frequently sell the priesthood; and the grand vizier, in imitation of them, makes the patriarch experience the same fate. He had moreover the power of erecting new synagogues, but this privilege was often limited, and cancelled by the imperial laws, which prohibited the Jews from making any new structures, and commanded them to be content with those they were in possession of. They judged the differences that arose betwixt the synagogues; they decided the controversies and difficulties relating to the law. Lastly, Origen says, that the patriarchs sentenced the guilty to death. And yet he wrote to one of his friends, that this nation had lost the right of condemning adulterers and murderers, and punishing them as the law commanded. If he spoke only of adulterers, we might easily reconcile the contradiction, because he might have been able to shew the cessation of the miracle, which the waters of jealousy wrought upon the women that violated their conjugal faith. But since he adds murderers, how can it be said that the patriarchs sentenced them to death, and that he had lost the right of punishing them? Whoever reads the imperial laws would easily discover that the patriarchs were far from having a power of life and death over the Jews; nor can we find in all their history one example of such an execution, made publicly in due form. Origen therefore is mistaken in giving the patriarch this authority; or rather he meant to say, that they had the privilege of punishing criminals with great severity in the synagogues, where they whipt them till blood was drawn, and even to death, par-

ticularly when they were persons that designed to embrace Christianity, or had already done it. The Christian emperors permitted the Jews the exercise of their discipline and censures. Sometimes this permission was abused by the extravagance of the punishment; and the judges either tolerated, or, being corrupted by the head of the synagogue, connived at this encroachment upon the sovereign authority. But this was not a privilege annexed to the patriarchal dignity, and it is still true that the Jews had lost the power of inflicting capital punishments. CHAP. V.

The emperor Theodosius, under whom the Jewish patriarchs flourished, was obliged to set bounds to their power. This prince's edict is obscure in several places; but by unravelling its true meaning, we may come to a perfect knowledge of the extent of the patriarchal jurisdiction.

First, he forbids Gamaliel, who was then patriarch, to build new synagogues, and commands Aurelian to demolish those that were little frequented, if it could be done without occasioning commotions in the cities. Gamaliel had abused his power at court; and fancying himself at liberty to build new temples, because he was protected, he built some. In the mean time there was a general law in the empire, that nobody could erect new churches without the emperor's concession.

Theodosius also forbade Gamaliel to judge of differences that arose betwixt Christians and Jews; and when the parties were of two religions he referred the cause to the ordinary magistrate. This shews that the patriarch had right only to determine the differences of his nation, which were com-

BOOK VI. monly concerning the observation of the law. Gamaliel imagined it was sufficient for one of the parties to be of his religion, to bring the other to his tribunal, and give him power to judge of the case; but Theodosius put a stop to that second usurpation, with which he only charges Gamaliel, who then governed.

The same law forbids the patriarch to dishonour any man, slave or free, with the mark of Judaism. This mark was circumcision, which the patriarch thought he had right of conferring on all those that quitted heathenism, or the Christian religion, to become Jews. This happened particularly to the slaves which the Jews bought, and more easily instructed in the principles of their religion; but this part of liberty of conscience was taken from them. Antoninus had given a like law before, which made it capital for a Jew to circumcise a man who was not of his nation; but in order to cure this mischief still more effectually, Theodosius forbade the Jews to keep Christian slaves; because, as we have observed, they were the slaves that were kept in Jewish houses that most commonly embraced their master's religion. This nation therefore had liberty of conscience left to themselves, but they were not allowed to make conquests and proselytes.

Here follows what is most obscure and most important in the law of Theodosius. This prince orders Aurelian to withdraw out of the hands of the patriarch Gamaliel, the letters of command he had received, and to leave him only the honour he had before, since he thought he might transgress with impunity, whilst he saw himself raised to a greater dignity. It is a punishment the emperor imposes

on this patriarch, because puffed up with his new exaltation, he had sinned against the laws. But what was that dignity that had rendered Gamaliel so haughty, and what must we understand by the letters of command which the emperor orders to be taken from him? it is certain Gamaliel had great credit at court, since Theodosius caused Dudus Hesychius to be condemned to death at his prayer and entreaty, because he had carried away his papers. And the decree was executed, though Hesychius was of consular dignity, and a considerable person in the empire. And yet it cannot be imagined that this Jewish patriarch had any command. Interpreters think hereby is meant patents of doctor of physic, because Gamaliel, though a patriarch, was notwithstanding a physician, and exercised his profession, and gave medicines, which have been commended by Sextus Empiricus: but the quality of physician neither distinguished Gamaliel in the empire, nor among the Jews, who have always exercised that profession to get a livelihood. Nor can it be said that these letters of command were those he obtained of the emperor to become patriarch: for besides that this office was hereditary, Theodosius insinuates, that it was some particular favour he had granted Gamaliel, which he deprived him of, because he had abused it. These letters of command were rather the patent of an honorary prefecture, which was sometimes granted to persons in the empire, distinguished by their birth, merit, or services, or whom the emperor pleased to honour. These patents gave no real jurisdiction, but a man bore in public the ensigns of his prefectural dignity. He might even ascend the tribunal, and take his CHAP. V.

BOOK VI. seat among the judges, though he had no decisive voice, nor sat there otherwise than as a post of honour. The emperor alone had the power of granting these patents. Gamaliel had procured to him this mark of distinction, but lost it by his pride; and Aurelian was charged to take out of his hands that patent of command, or honorary prefecture.

This is the sense of the law of Theodosius the younger, by which we see before the patriarchs could have power to erect new synagogues they were first to obtain the prince's permission; that the authority of judging respected only the differences that arose betwixt the Jews; and that if a Christian was one of the contending parties, he brought the cause before the ordinary tribunal. If they had liberty of conscience, it did not extend to the making proselytes. However, that was the happiest time for that nation, since Gamaliel was perhaps the only person of it that ever enjoyed an honorary patent. This dignity was abolished in the year four hundred twenty-nine, after having lasted three hundred and fifty years.

There remains but one thing to be examined concerning the authority of the patriarchs, which respects their deposition. As they were the heads of the religion and church, it seems that no tribunal in the nation could pretend to judge, try, and depose them, when they had violated the law. These judicial assemblies had been formed with great difficulty in the empire, where the nation was most commonly oppressed: and yet the rabbins maintain, that a society cannot be deprived of a right of deposing an head, that is not vigilant to preserve the

body, or that endeavours its destruction. They allege the example of Meir, who had a design to expel Simeon III, and formed a conspiracy to deprive him of his office. Meir was vice-president of the council. Simeon, perceiving the same honours paid to him as to himself, when they entered into the assembly, resolved to make some distinction in them. Meir, provoked, resolved to lay a snare for the patriarch; to interrogate him upon an important question; it was that of lice; and as they thought he could not be ready upon the subject, they were resolved to depose him. But having notice of their design, he prepared himself, and answered their difficulties. However, Meir's design proves a right of deposing the patriarch when he was found ignorant. It is said that Gamaliel was actually deposed for some time. Lastly, they maintain that this dignity was so little hereditary, that Judah the Saint preferred Chanina before one of his children, because he thought him abler and fitter to fill the patriarchal chair. The last of these facts is evidently false: for Judah the Saint conferred the office of prince, or patriarch, on his son Gamaliel, and Chanina was only made head of the academy. St. Epiphanius likewise informs us, that the patriarchate was so much hereditary, that though Hillel left but one son who was a minor, yet he was created patriarch; and he had learnt this from Joseph a Jew, and tutor to this child, who ought to have understood the laws of his nation. CHAP. V.

The fathers of the Christian church seem to have had no great notion of all these patriarchs. Cyril of Jerusalem insulted their extraction, and maintained that it would be a shame to search into the baseness

BOOK VI. of their race. St. Chrysostom would not allow them to be descended from the race of Aaron: and Cyril denied their descent from that of David. And some accused them of a great corruption of manners, and an insatiable avarice.

The primates succeeded the patriarchs, but their authority was different. It has been pretended, that these Jewish primates resembled those of the Christians; heads of a province, and presidents of the council assembled in it. But I question the truth of it; at least I observe that there were many Jewish primates in that one city of Alexandria, when Cyril the bishop of it terrified them. It was the people that elected their primates by the plurality of voices. Whereas the patriarchship was hereditary in the family of Hillel. Cunæus has allotted them the same authority as the patriarchs; but he bottoms upon a law of Theodosius, which that ingenious and bold critic had not well read. He makes this prince say in his law, that the primates rule in the council or sanhedrim; but he should have read, that they are nominated or elected by the council of the two provinces. Palestine was then divided into three provinces, and yet the law speaks but of two; but there is no necessity of changing the text, because perhaps there was neither sanhedrim nor Jewish primate, in the third part of that province which was called *the salutary*. Each province maintained its primates, and to that end the ancient tribute was continued for some years, which the patriarchs exacted. But Theodosius the younger had it brought into his treasury, and levied by his officers.

CHAP. VI.

Of the princes of the captivity at Babylon.

THE origin of the heads of the captivity is not known; it only appears, that there was nothing of them before the end of the second century. Indeed whilst the temple of Jerusalem stood, the eastern refugees sent their presents to Jerusalem, and came thither from time to time to pay their devotions. The spirit of schism expired in these strange countries, and they acknowledged the high priest for supreme in the nation: if any continued addicted to the schism of Samaria and Gerizim, they sent also their oblations thither: there was no thought therefore of setting up an head of the captivity, whilst there was any form of government in Judæa. CHAP. VI.

We must not look for a prince of the nation, either in the west or east, before the ruin of Jerusalem. There was none in the east, for no historian has mentioned any; and the first of these chiefs that appears upon the stage was Huna, who lived not till the end of the second century of the church. Nor were there any other princes at Jerusalem, besides those that were appointed by the Romans. It will be asked, no doubt, whether no change was made in the East after the downfall of Jerusalem. Some critics maintain, that the nation was divided into three different portions, which made to themselves as many heads. They that remained in the Holy Land continued to have for their head the president of the sanhedrim. The Egyptians elected a patriarch, of whom the emperor Adrian speaks, and the Orientals set up in Babylon a prince of the captivity. Sometimes it is pretended that the patriarch

BOOK VI. of Judæa ruled over the whole nation; and the argument is, that the emperor Adrian speaks only of one patriarch who extended his authority into Egypt, and from thence into the East. Origen and St. Jerom have spoken after the same manner; and it is in vain to turn over the imperial laws, among which there are so many which regulate the government of the Jews; we there only find the sole dignity of patriarch elevated above the rest.

If a man may have leave to produce his conjectures, on a subject barren and destitute of proofs, it appears to me much more probable, that the eastern Jews imitated those of the Holy Land, who had made themselves an head. Having no longer that bond of unity which was formed by the temple of Jerusalem and the high priest, these two parts of the nation, vastly remote from one another, made themselves chiefs. According to all appearances, the Orientals durst not take this liberty, till the Parthians, who tyrannized in the East, were beaten under the empire of Alexander Severus, and the last of their kings ended his life in a tragical manner. As they then enjoyed some rest by the overthrow of their tyrants, they might take that advantage to give some form to their government. This conjecture agrees with the time in which Huna lived, the first that is known of all the princes of the Babylonish captivity: for Huna was contemporary with Judah the Saint, and was elected prince of the nation in the year 220 or 222. It is true, a Jewish chronologer sends Huna to the end of the third century, the year 4060, or 300 of our Saviour. But all the other writers of the nation acknowledge that he was contemporary with Judah the Saint; and was

elected prince during his life, or a little after his death. Lastly, it is easy to remove all the difficulties urged by the critics, about the unity of the patriarch, or the plurality of heads assigned to the Jewish nation, which is what I shall attempt in the following article. CHAP. VI.

First, it is true that the patriarch of Tiberias was alone for some time, because the Jews of Babylon had not the liberty, after the ruin of Jerusalem, to make to themselves a particular head; yet it cannot be said that this patriarch extended his authority over the Jews of Babylon; for we find no track or proof of it. It must not be wondered at, if in process of time only one patriarch was mentioned: Adrian had reason for this, since the princes of the Babylonish captivity were not yet known; and this emperor took notice only of what passed in Egypt. Christian authors and the imperial laws only respected the Roman empire, on which Judæa depended; and it was not known what was done in the East under the Persian empire. This remark ruins the subdivision that is made of the nation into three portions; for the Egyptian Jews depending on the Roman empire were subject to the patriarch of Judæa; and therefore Adrian affirms, that he came into this country from time to time. His seat was not there, nor did he reside in Egypt, but he came from Tiberias to visit his nation, and raise the tribute in Egypt. Origen, St. Jerom, and Theodosius, could not have been ignorant that there were two heads of the Jews, one in Egypt, and the other in Judæa, and since they own but one, it is absurd to multiply them. But in tract of time the patriarchs of Tiberias being abolished, the refugees

BOOK VI. of Egypt, who were not accustomed to depend upon that of Babylon, thought they had right to set up a particular chief of their own; and therefore Benjamin de Tudela does not put Egypt into the diocese of the Babylonish chief, whereof he has given a large description: but moreover, sets over the Jews in Egypt, a prince of princes, who was of the nation, and presided over the synagogues of this country. Lastly, after the institution of two heads of the nation, one for the Roman empire, and the other for the Persian, they have ever been independent of one another. The Babylonish Jews would not submit to the patriarch of Tiberias after the ruin of Jerusalem; and it was doubtless to be quit of the obeisance and homages that the Jewish patriarch required of them, that they set up an head of their own.

It is pretended that the head of the captivity was superior to the patriarch, because all that were of David's race left Judæa and retired into Babylon. They maintain, that there it was that the sceptre was found mentioned by Jacob, because the heads of the captivity enjoyed a great authority, while the lawgiver was in Judæa, where the descendants of Hillel and some other very able rabbins have taught the law. Lastly, they cite a confession of Judah the Saint, who owns, that if Huna, who was head of the captivity of Babylon, came into Judæa, he should be obliged to give him place, and to rise before him; because Huna was of the tribe of Judah, and of the race of David by king Jehoiakim, and he was only of the tribe of Benjamin, and of the race royal by the women.

These princes of the captivity were installed with

a great deal of pomp and ceremony. The truth is, CHAP. VI.
the heads of the neighbouring academies, the senators and the people, came in throngs into the city of Babylon: the assembly being formed, and the prince supposed to be of the race of David, seated upon a kind of throne, the head of the academy of Syria exhorted him not to abuse his power, representing that he was called rather to a slavery than an empire, by reason of the sad condition of the people. Thursday following, the governors of the academies laid their hands on him in the synagogue, with the noise of trumpets and acclamations. The people having conducted him home, in pomp, sent him great presents. Saturday morning all the considerable persons came to his house: he put himself at the head of them, and left his house, having his face covered with a piece of silk: in this equipage he went, the multitude following him, to the synagogue, where the heads of the academies, and the chanters, sung canticles of benediction about his chair. There they brought him the book of the law, which he read the first line of; afterwards he spoke to the people, with his eyes shut, out of respect, and if he failed, the head of the academy of Syria made the sermon: he enlarged particularly upon the charity that ought to be had to the students, and gave himself an example, by large alms, and that example was followed. The ceremony ended with acclamations to the prince, and prayers to God that he would deliver the nation under his reign. He blessed the people, and prayed in particular for each province, that God would defend it from plague or war. He ended with a petition in a low voice, for fear any one should hear him, and

BOOK VI. go and acquaint other princes that he wished their ruin; because indeed the empire of the Jews could not be erected but upon the wreck of other monarchies. Upon leaving the synagogue, the prince was conducted pompously to his palace, where he made a sumptuous entertainment for the principal persons of the nation. This was his last exit; for after that, he was not permitted to leave his house, except to go to the academy, and then everybody rose and stood, till he desired them to take their seats. He went to pay a visit to the king of Babylon, which was done with a great deal of pomp after his installation. The king having notice of his design, sent his chariot for him: the head of the captivity durst not accept this offer, but ordered it to go before him, to testify his respect and dependance. He was then vested with a magnificent cloth of gold; fifty guards marched before him; all that met him upon the road made it a piece of devotion to follow him to the king's palace. The eunuchs met him, and conducted him to a throne, while one of his officers that marched before him distributed gold and silver. Upon approaching the king, he prostrated himself to the earth, to signify that he was his vassal and his subject: the eunuchs raised him, and placed him on a seat on the left hand: after the first compliments, the prince opened the complaints and affairs of his nation, which the king decided.

These heads of the captivity have sometimes had their residence at Mahazia, but it was translated to Babylon, or Bagdad: there he had ten courts of justice, over which he presided. There was also twenty-eight synagogues, amongst which was that of the prince, supported with pillars of marble of all

colours. Before the chest, which contained the law, CHAP. VI.
was a tribunal raised with ten steps, on which was placed the seat of the prince of the captivity and his family. His sovereignty extended over all the dispersed Jews in Asia and Chaldea, and all the kingdoms of the Parthians: Esdras commonly calls them *Orientals*, in opposition to those who lived in Judæa and Egypt, which are often called *Occidentals*. He conferred ordination on all the heads of the synagogues of the East; thence also he received the necessary contributions to support his dignity, and pay his tributes exacted by the kings of Persia.

This prince was to be of the house of David, but it would not have been extremely difficult to have observed this order in a place where there were but few Jews of the tribe of Judah and Little Benjamin, and where on the contrary the posterity of the other tribes were infinitely the uppermost. This was perhaps only imagined, that they might not in any thing be inferior to those who continued in Judæa, whose patriarchs descending from Hillel traced their pedigree up to David; or to raise the glory of the nation.

This principality subsisted in the eleventh century, when it received a deadly blow. The famous academies were shut up; the people and disciples fled to the west, and particularly to France, where they taught for some years with great reputation. The heads of the captivity lost their power by the desertions of the people, and the oppression of the infidels: their name remained till the twelfth century, since Benjamin de Tudela, who travelled into these parts, found one still there; but we find no footsteps of them from that time.

CHAP. VII.

Judicial laws among the Hebrews: of murder.

BOOK VI. TO commit no murder was one of the precepts given to the sons of Noah, with this solemn sanc-
Gen. ix. 6. tion, *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed:* for notwithstanding the fall of our first parents, there still remained in man so much of the divine image as entitled him to God's immediate protection. The murderer was to be delivered to the magistrates and judges to be punished; for till now God had reserved the punishment of murder in his own hand, as appears from the history of Cain whom he had banished, but suffered nobody to kill him. This was afterwards one of the commandments delivered by God from mount Sinai, and established by Moses into the body of the Levitical laws under the most severe penalties.

Exod. xxi. 14, 15, &c. Wilful murder was punished with death by strangling; nor was the case altered, whether the act was designed and deliberate, or done in anger and passion; for if a man in the height of his rage resolved to kill another, and laid wait for him to execute his designs, it was justly to be judged wilful murder, and accordingly punished: this law was understood by the Hebrew doctors to include only an Israelite, or a proselyte of justice; as for others, if an Israelite, or such a proselyte killed one of them, he was not, say they, to be put to death: but this construction defeats the intent of the law, which no doubt had regard to the preservation of all that lived amongst the Hebrews, that they might dwell with safety and security of their lives. If the murderer fled to the altar for refuge, he was to be taken from

thence by the elders of the city, and brought to justice. This, it seems, was an asylum as well as the cities of refuge, but under many nice limitations, both with respect to the part of the altar, to the persons that fled thither, and to the crime they had committed. Though he was the high priest, and in the act of sacrifice, he was to be taken from thence; for as Maimonides observes, the mercy which is shewn to wicked men is no better than tyranny and cruelty to the rest of God's creatures; and therefore, though such persons sought to God for his patronage, by betaking themselves to that which was dedicated to his name; he would not afford them any protection, but commanded them to be delivered up to justice. More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 39.

The judges appointed to try the fact, were the court that sat in the city where the fact was committed; they had power to examine into the matter, and inquire into the evidence of two persons, at least, that were allowed to be competent witnesses. There were ten sorts of persons, according to the Hebrew doctors, that were incapable to give evidence, women, servants, minors, fools, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the impious, the audacious, near relations, and those who had been convicted of perjury; and they endeavour, after their manner, to find reasons against all these in the law itself. If there was but one witness, the criminal could not be put to death; yet, say the Jews, he was thrown into a very strait prison, and there fed with bread and water of affliction, till his bowels were sorely pinched with want of sustenance. If the accused was found guilty by the evidence of two witnesses, he was put to death, say some Jews, by the sword, Numb. xxxv. 30, 31, &c. Selden l. iv. de Jure Nat. c. 1.

BOOK VI. Nothing could prevent the execution of the sentence. If a murderer would give all his estate to save his life, or if the avenger of blood (who was always the next relation) would accept of a compensation, or freely let him go, (when they had found him guilty,) the judge could not restore him to the city of refuge, but he was to suffer death; for the life of him that was slain (as Maimonides speaks, quoted by Selden) was not part of the goods of the avenger of blood, but belonged to the almighty God, who set such a value on a man's life, that he would not suffer any price to be taken for it. The next of kin was bound to prosecute the murderer unto death, for the good of his country, which otherwise would have had a guilt upon it, and that very grievous. It is, says the author above mentioned, a piece of universal justice, to make a man suffer what he has made another endure. If he has hurt his body, he must suffer for it in his own body; if in his money, his own purse must pay for it; if he has taken away his life, he must die for it himself, and the punishment can neither be mitigated, nor compensation accepted for it. If he that was murdered should lie a few days or hours after his deadly wound, and being in sound understanding, should desire that he that killed him might not die for it, declaring that he freely forgave him; his desire was not to be granted, but blood was to be punished with blood, whether he that was slain was a great or a mean man, a freeman or a slave, a wise man or a fool, because there is no greater sin committed among men, than that of murder.

Selden de Jure Nat. lib. iv. c. 2.

Upon trial the judges proceeded by these rules: if a man had no intention to kill another, but it was

purely involuntary, he was to be acquitted: if there appeared any design upon his life, or such hatred and enmity, as might move them to conclude he had an intention to kill him, he was to be put to death; but here the Hebrew doctors (as Mr. Selden observes) distinguish the killing of a man into three kinds: the first was when, though it was from pure ignorance and error, yet there was some negligence in it which a prudent man might have avoided. The second, when a man kills another ignorantly, and cannot be blamed for any negligence, because such a thing seldom happens. An example of the first they make to be, when a man coming down a ladder falls upon another and kills him. An example of the second, when going up a ladder a man happens to do the same; the former is more frequent, and therefore they say has some kind of blame in it; the other seldomer, and therefore has none. A third kind, when any man kills another out of ignorance and error also, but it approaches nearer to voluntary murder; as when a man intending to kill one man, happens to kill another with a stone, or otherwise. In none of these cases, they say, the court of judgment could put any man to death. The court were obliged likewise to inquire with what weapon or instrument the person was slain. If he was killed with an instrument of iron, or with a great stone, or with a batoon or wooden club, or with anything that was likely to kill him, he was esteemed a murderer, and the guilty person must suffer for it.

CHAP. VII.

Numb. xxxv. 16, 17.

Upon this subject Maimonides has this gloss: Any one that kills his neighbour with his hand, as if he strike him with a sword, or with a stone that kills

In Rotsc-ahh, Per. 2.

BOOK VI. him, or strangles him till he die, or burns him in the fire, or kills him any how in his own person, such a one must be put to death by the sanhedrim: but he that hires another to kill his neighbour, or that sends his servants and they kill him, or that violently thrusts him before a lion or the like, and the beast kills him; any one of these is a shedder of blood, and the guilt of shedding blood is upon him, and he is liable to death by the hand of Heaven; but he is not to be put to death by the sanhedrim. And where is the proof that it must be thus? Because it is said, *He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed:* this is he that slays a man himself, and not by the hand of another. *Your blood of your lives will I require:* this is he that slays himself. *At the hand of every beast will I require it:* this is he that delivers up his neighbour before a beast to be rent to pieces. *At the hand of man, even at the hand of every man's brother, will I require the life of man:* this is he that hires others to kill his neighbour. In this interpretation, *requiring* is spoken of all the three; *behold* their judgment is delivered over to Heaven, or God. And all these manslayers, and the like, who are not liable to death by the sanhedrim, if the king of Israel will slay them by the judgment of the kingdom and the law of nations, he may.

Exod. xxi. 22, &c. If there chanced to be a fray, and a woman with child interposed between the contending parties, or came perhaps to assist her husband, and received a hurt, so as to make her miscarry, the husband might justly require compensation, both for the loss of his child, and the grief and anguish suffered by his wife. The matter was to be brought before the

public judges, who considered in their decree what damage was done, which was estimated by the hurt the wife received in her body, and by the lessening of her price, if she were a slave and might be sold. But if the mother died, the law insists, *life shall be given for life;* concerning the sense of which expression, says Jarchi, our masters differ; for some by life understand that which is properly so called, or the person himself; so that it should signify being put to death. But others understand by it a pecuniary mulct, that so much money should be paid to the heirs, as the person killed might have been sold for. The Seventy carry it to quite another construction, which is, that if a woman miscarry, and the child was not yet formed and fashioned, the man who occasioned the miscarriage was to pay a fine; but if it were formed, then life was to be given for life. So that the whole of this law is to be understood of an abortion, and according to the condition of the abortive, (not the life or death of the mother,) so the punishment was to be inflicted. CHAP. VII. Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent. cap. 1.

The blood of man was to be required at the hand of every beast, and for this purpose the law of Moses made provision by instancing an ox, that if he gored a man or a woman that they died, the ox was to be stoned, and his flesh was not to be eaten, that the owner might lose all benefit by him, and be admonished to take better care of his cattle. The Hebrew doctors say, that if a man eat so much as an olive of this flesh, he was to be scourged. The reason why the flesh was not to be eaten, is given by some, because being stoned, it was a carcass whose blood was in it. But Maimonides answers to this in his treatise of forbidden meats, that the Numb. xxi. 28.

BOOK VI. scope of the law is, that as soon as the sentence for its being stoned was pronounced, it became unclean; nay, if a man, to prevent this sentence, killed it after a legal manner, no man might taste of it; and when it was stoned, the flesh was neither sold nor given to the Gentiles, nor to the dogs. If the ox did not kill the man, but only wounded him, in that case the owner was obliged to make him full compensation as the judges thought equal, and to take care to prevent the same misfortune for the future: but if the ox has formerly been known to be so unruly, and he had been told of it, and yet omitted to secure him from doing further mischief, then he as well as the ox were to be put to death. The Jewish doctors indeed have softened this law by divers exceptions. As first, they say, it was to be proved, that the ox had pushed upon three several days; for though it appeared he pushed a great many times in one day, it would not make the man liable. And secondly, it was to be testified, not only to the owner, but before the magistrate, that he had pushed so often. And lastly, they interpret the words of the law, *The owner also shall be put to death,* of punishment by the hand of Heaven; that is, they leave him to God. Indeed the law itself allows the owner in some cases to save his life by a pecuniary mulct, though the ox had been used to push, and the master had been told of it. The circumstances that attend this law are difficult to be adjusted; and the most reasonable solution I have met with is what is given by a man of great learning in this manner: Either the knowledge which the owner had of the ill conditions of his ox were certain or uncertain, and his carelessness in preventing the mischief which he used to do, was

Constantine L'Empereur in Bava Kama. cap. 4. sect. 5.

greater or less, or the friends of him that was killed pressed the strictest justice, or were content to remit it. In the former cases, (if the knowledge was certain, the carelessness very gross, and the friends very strict in the prosecution,) he was punished with death; but if otherwise, he was punished only by setting a fine upon him. It is certain that this law might prove too rigorous in many cases, (as if the ox pushed, being provoked, or broke loose when he was tied up, or was let go by the negligence of a servant,) and therefore God permitted the judges to accept of a ransom as they saw cause, which was to be paid according as the sanhedrim thought fit. The owner was obliged to submit to the fine, whatsoever it was, and it was given to the heirs of him that was killed. If a man's wife was killed, the Jews say, it belonged to the heirs of her father's family, and not to her husband. This law extended to children and servants, men or maids: whether the servant was of greater or lesser value, says Maimonides, the punishment was the payment of thirty shekels, (and the loss of the ox,) half the price of a freeman, who was estimated, he says, at sixty shekels. He adds, in his treatise of pecuniary mulcts, that the owner was not bound to pay this ransom unless the ox killed the man out of his own ground; for if he was killed within the owner's ground, the ox indeed was stoned, but no ransom was paid.

More Nevochim. p. 3. cap. 40.

CHAP. VIII.

The expiation of an uncertain murder by the beheading of a heifer.

BOOK VI. THESE are the laws in the Levitical code that relate to wilful homicide, when the person or beast is known that committed the fact: but in case of secret murder, when a person was found dead, and the murderer unknown, the guilt was purged and expiated by solemn ceremonies in this manner. The great sanhedrim were obliged to send out some of their body, called in the law the *elders* and *judges*. Two of the wise men, or elders, (says the paraphrase ascribed to Uzielides,) and three of the judges, were sent by the sanhedrim, about this business. Now it may be proper in this place to observe, that there were a sort of elders who were not ordained by imposition of hands, but only were venerable persons for their age and prudence, who some think might serve for this employment; and they called such elders, *elders of the street*, or *vulgar elders;* but none, I think, have more critically discoursed upon these words of the law, *thy elders and thy judges*, than our Mr. Thorndike; who observes that there had been judges constituted to determine cases by Jethro's advice, the greater causes being referred to Moses alone, for whose assistance God appointed seventy elders, who made up the great court of judgment in that nation. Now they of this great consistory are called *elders of Israel;* but they of other consistories, or inferior courts, are called barely *elders*, or *elders of such a city*. He alleges this very law, and by *elders* understands the *elders of Israel*, the lower elders, being mentioned afterwards.

Deut. xx. 12, &c.

Selden de Syn. lib. iii. c. 1.

Review of the Rights, &c. p. 70.

And so those of the great consistory are commonly called in the Gospel, and in like manner, *the scribes of the people;* and *thy scribes* signify there those of this high court; whereas the bare name of *scribes* is extended further to the inferior doctors of the law. As also the name of *rulers,* and that of *rulers of the people,* are to be understood with the like difference. But to return.

If it was dubious what city lay nearest to the dead body, these members of the sanhedrim were to measure to the cities that were round about the slain. It is a frivolous dispute in the Mischna from whence they were to measure, whether from the navel, or the nose, or the forehead, which last seems most rational to Maimonides, who calls it the centre of the body: but they did not (if we believe the Jewish doctors) in their measuring take notice of any city wherein there was not a court of twenty-three elders, and Jerusalem was excepted. If the dead body lay nearest to the country of the Gentiles, then they did not measure at all, but it was presumed the man was killed by them. After they had measured to the next city, from whence it might be supposed the murderer came, or to which he was fled, these elders of the sanhedrim returned to Jerusalem, after they had seen the body buried. If there was no discovery of the murderer, then the senators of the city next to the dead body performed the following ceremonies.

They were to provide a heifer that was not above two years old; if it were a day more, they could not use it for this purpose. If she had ever drawn in the yoke, she was improper for this expiation; and such a one in this case (wherein the beast was not

BOOK VI. to be offered) was absolutely necessary, as many think, that it might the better represent the person that had committed this murder, who was a son of Belial, subject to no law, and deserves to be beheaded as this heifer was. It is not required that it should be without blemish, as those beasts were to be that were offered at the tabernacle, but it was sufficient if it had never been yoked; yet this is not to be taken without all limitation; for if it wanted any member, or were diseased, it might not be employed in this service. The elders of the city were to bring this heifer into a valley that was unploughed, and through which ran a stream of water, and which generally is the most fertile ground: the reason of this is given by Abendana, that the inhabitants of each city might be the more careful to prevent such murders, being in danger otherwise to lose the best ground that belonged to their inheritance; for the land where the body was found, (if we may believe the Mischna,) was never to be sown any more. In this place one of the elders coming behind the heifer, struck off her neck; for so the murderer was supposed to have treacherously surprised the slain man, and should have been thus used if he could have been found.

Not. marg. Michlal Jophi. Sota. c. 9. sect. 3.

The priests that belonged to the city were obliged to attend, not as judges, but as directors of the ceremony; and all the elders were to purge themselves of the murder by washing their hands over the heifer, in the water of the brook which flowed through the valley, and there solemnly to protest their innocence in this form; "Our hands have not shed this "blood, neither have our eyes seen it." The wisdom of this law is thus represented by Maimonides. The

elders called God to witness that they had not neglected to secure the ways, nor to set watches to examine diligently those that travelled, saying, as our rabbins express it: "This man was not killed "through any negligence or forgetfulness which "we were guilty of, in not observing our public "constitutions; nor do we know who killed him." Now by this inquisition into the fact, by this going forth of the elders, and the striking off the heifer's head, and the other ceremonies, a great deal of discourse necessarily arose about this business, which made the thing public, and was a probable means of discovering the murderer by some or other that were there, or should hear of all this. If any one came and said he knew the author, then they forbore to behead the heifer: but the man being apprehended, if the house of judgment did not put him to death, the king had power to do it; if he neglected it, the avenger of blood might kill him wheresoever he met him.

CHAP. VIII.

More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 40.

Then was this solemn supplication pronounced; "Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy people Israel, "whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent "blood unto thy people of Israel's charge." This prayer, says the Mischna, was delivered by the priest alone; though Josephus (who often differs from the Talmudists) is of another opinion, and affirms, that both the priests and elders prayed that God would be propitious to them, and prevent the like calamity for the future. Thus was the guilt expiated, which in some sort would have lain upon them, if they had taken no notice of a murder committed so near their city, nor made inquisition after it, nor expressed their abhorrence of it. This cere-

BOOK VI. mony was to be performed in the daytime, and the body of the heifer was to be buried, but none of it eaten, or any part of it employed to other uses. If the murderer was found before its head was struck off, it was to be let go into the pasture among other beasts, if after, he was to suffer capital punishment, that is, says the Mischna, be cut off by the sword.

Sota c. 9. sect. 7.

CHAP. IX.

Of manstealing; of wounding.

Exod. xxi. 16. TO steal an Israelite, whether a freeman or but a servant, was accounted a species of murder, and punished with death by strangling; for, says Maimonides, it might well be thought he intended to kill him whom he violently carried away, at least, if he had no opportunity to sell him. It was equally criminal whether the man was sold by the thief or found upon him: no Israelite would buy him; and therefore such kidnappers disposed of him to men of other nations, which made the action more cruel; not only to take away his liberty, but to make him a slave to strangers. And if he had not actually sold him, his intention was sufficiently known by his stealing him away.

More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 41.

Exod. xxi. 18, &c. The law of Moses had placed so strict a guard over the life of man, that one could not wound another with impunity, though it was in his own defence; for if two men quarrelled and came to blows, and one received a wound that forced him to his bed, from whence he never arose, it was pronounced murder by the judges. Indeed, if the man

recovered so far as to get up after the stroke, and walk abroad, (though he died not long after,) it was presumed his death was occasioned by his negligence, or by some other cause, and not by the blow he received; and upon hearing the cause the judges were to acquit the man that gave the blow; that is, he was not to die for it; but he was not excused a pecuniary punishment. Satisfaction, say the Jews, was given to the sufferer for the loss he sustained in five particulars; for the hurt in his body, for the loss of his time, the pain he had endured, the charge of physician and surgeon, and the disgrace. They distinguish between the cure of the wound, bruises or swelling caused by the stroke, and of any other breaking out he chanced to have at the same time. He was bound to pay for the cure of the former, and not of the latter: and if after a man was cured, he fell ill again, he that struck him was not obliged to take care of him. There is a law among the Mosaic institutions, which enjoins that an *eye* should be given *for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,* and *blemish* for *blemish*; but the Hebrews generally, and the best Christian expositors, understand this of pecuniary mulcts; and indeed there seems to be great reason in many cases to admit of a compensation; for it is impossible that this law should be justly executed according to the letter of it; for the same member of the body is far more valuable to one man than another; for instance, the right hand of a scrivener, or a painter, cannot be so well spared as the right hand of a singer; therefore the Jews commented justly upon this occasion. Does any one cut off the hand or foot of his neighbour? they value this according to

CHAP. IX.

Bava Kama. c. 8. sect. 1.

Exod. xxi. 24. Lev. xxiv. 19.

Bava Kama. c. 8. sect. 1.

BOOK VI. the example of selling a servant; computing at what price he would be sold before he was maimed, for how much less afterwards; and so much of the price as is diminished, so much is to be paid to the maimed person, as it is said, *an eye for an eye.* We have received by tradition that this is to be understood of pecuniary satisfaction.

Deut. xxv. 11, 12, &c. In the quarrel between two men, if the wife of the one took her husband's part, who was likely to be overcome, and for that purpose seized the other by the secrets, as a sure means to make him let go his hold; she was sentenced by the court to have her right hand cut off for her impudence; and because she had offered to injure those parts that served to the propagation of mankind. She was not to be pitied upon the account of her sex, but to suffer the penalty to the utmost.

CHAP. X.

Of theft.

Exod. xxii. 23. THE provisions made for the lesser injuries will properly follow the laws of murder. To avoid theft and robbery was one of the precepts of the sons of Noah, and afterwards made the eighth command in the Decalogue. A thief, if he was taken with a weapon or instrument about him, in the night, breaking into a house, or any other place, the master might lawfully kill him, because it might justly be presumed the robber intended to kill him rather than lose his booty: but the Hebrew doctors make some exceptions, as, if he did not fly, and if there were no witnesses present; for if there were, then it

was like theft in the daytime. If the sun was up, so that the thief might possibly be known who he was, and it might be supposed he intended only to steal and not to kill, then to kill him was accounted murder, and accordingly punished. If he was taken in the fact, he was sold by the sanhedrim for six years. But the Jewish writers have many mollifications of this law; for they say a woman was not to be sold, nor a man, but for the principal sum; for double, or four or fivefold he was not to be sold, but to have credit for it till he was able to pay. And he was not to be sold who robbed a Samaritan, nor if he had stolen less than he was worth when sold, with many other evasions, which so mitigate this law, that they almost abrogate the force of it. CHAP. X.

To steal an ox or a sheep, and to kill it or sell it before the theft was discovered, the penalty was to restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. The reason of this disproportion is thus given by Maimonides. Of cattle in the field, an ox was more easy to be stolen than a sheep; for sheep feeding in flocks may be all in view of the shepherd; but oxen feeding scattered one from another, are not so easily observed and secured by the neatherd; but the true reason seems to be because an ox was of greater value, and likewise useful to more purposes in husbandry, which made the punishment the greater. Yet there was a difference between a thief who came and voluntarily confessed his sin, and he that stood out till he was apprehended and convicted of it; for in the former case Moses seems only to require the restitution of that which was stolen, with the addition of a fifth part of the value, and a sacrifice. A great difference likewise was made

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 41.

Lev. vi. 4, 5. See book iv. p. 102. of this vol.

BOOK VI. between killing or selling after the stealth, and having these cattle found alive with him; in the former case the thief was punished four or fivefold, but in the latter only double, because the former concealed his theft with more industry, and left less hope of discovery and restitution than the latter, as Bochart observes. Nor was the thief to restore double, if he was not otherwise found out, but confessed the fact himself, before he had either killed or sold that which he stole. He that stole from another thief was not bound, as Maimonides thinks, to restore double: but in case a thief killed what he had stolen, and after that consecrated it to God, he was obliged, notwithstanding, to restore fourfold; though if he consecrated it before he killed or sold it, only to restore double; for though the satisfaction of a thing, after the sin was committed, did not take away the guilt, yet before he aggravated his fault by killing or selling what he stole, the satisfaction lessened the punishment.

Hierozoic. p. i. lib. ii. c. 4.

Exod. xxii. 7, 8.

If a man deliver to his neighbour money or goods to keep, without any advantage to himself, and the things be stolen, the thief, if he be found, was to pay double. If the thief could not be discovered, the matter was brought into a court of justice, where three judges, at least, were to examine upon oath, and endeavour to find out the truth: the issue was, that he who pretended to have deposited the goods, was to pay double if he brought an unjust charge against his neighbour; or he with whom the goods were deposited was to pay it, if it appeared he had dealt fraudulently; but if it proved that the goods were lost by mere chance, he was not bound to pay any thing. This law is thus explained

by Maimonides, according to the opinion of the Talmudist. When a man brings an action against another about such things as are here mentioned, and the defendant confesses part of the charge, but denies the rest, he was to restore as far as he confessed; but for the other which he did not confess, he was to be put upon his oath: or if he denied the whole, and he that brought the action had but one witness against him, he was purged by an oath; for it seems this was one case where a man was compelled to clear himself by oath, when he had been proved guilty by one witness. CHAP. X. Selden de Synod. lib. ii. c. 12.

CHAP. XI.

Of lending and borrowing. Of an ox that gores with his horns. Of damages and trespasses.

AN ass, an ox, a sheep, or any other beast, if it was lent to a neighbour, upon certain conditions, or let for hire, and the man affirms that he died, or was hurt, or driven away by enemies; but there was no witness of any of these allegations, then the cause was brought before the judges to find out the truth. The method was, that the man to whom the beast was delivered, was to purge himself by oath, that he had not killed it, nor done any thing to hurt it, and the owner was to trouble him no further; nor was he bound to make any satisfaction, provided he had used these goods according to the agreement between them, for if he had employed them contrary to their contract, then he was bound to make them good to the owner, of whom they were borrowed or hired. If he refused to take the

BOOK VI. oath, he was pronounced guilty, and restitution was ordered to be made out of his goods. But there were some temperaments of this law, for every man was not allowed to purge himself by oath; for instance, he whose reputation was so bad that they suspected that he would make no difficulty to perjure himself, was not admitted to be adjured; no, though he that brought the action required it. If it appeared that the beast was stolen through negligence, he was obliged to make restitution to the owner, either because he was bound to have looked better after it by receiving wages for his care in keeping it, or engaging to make it good, if he did not take the same care of it, as if it had been his own. If he would produce any part of it as an evidence that it was torn, and he endeavoured to rescue it, he was not to make it good. But here the Hebrew doctors make many exceptions; for they would have him make good what was torn by one wolf alone, because they think he might have been able to defend the cattle against one, though not against many. If also he put the oxen or sheep into a pasture that used to be infested with wild beasts or thieves; or if he did not call in the help of his neighbours: in these and such like cases he was to make reparation for the damage.

A beast lent to a neighbour out of kindness, without any consideration for the use of it, if any controversy arose about it, if it had received a maim, suppose, or had died, the matter was brought before the judges. If the owner was with the beast that was lent at the time of its hurt or death, it was presumed he would do his best to preserve it, and see it was not ill used, and so must bear the loss.

But if he was not present at that time, then the contrary was presumed, that the borrower was in fault, and therefore bound to make it good; which, though it may seem hard, was but necessary to make men careful to preserve what was lent them out of pure kindness. Rabbi Levi of Barcelona interprets this law quite another way: that if the owner was with it at the time it was borrowed, though not with it at the time of its hurt or death, the borrower was free; but if the owner was then present, but not at the time of lending, he was bound to make it good; for "the matter," says he, "depends upon the begin-"ning of it." If the thing were borrowed with a condition to pay so much for the use of it, as the lender demanded, then the man who hired it was not bound to make it good, whether the owner was present or not when it was hurt or died, but the owner was to run the hazard, because of the hire which he received for the use of it. CHAP. XI. Precept 56.

A man that opened a pit in the street, or the public highway, and left it uncovered, was to make good the damage, by a sum of money, if a neighbour's beast fell into it and perished; but the dead beast was to be his own: he was not concerned in this law if he digged a pit in his own ground, nor was he bound as before if he did cover it conveniently, and in time the cover grew rotten, and a misfortune followed to another's loss. Exod. xxi. 33.

If one man's ox gored another that he died, (and the law was the same among other cattle, an ox being mentioned only for example,) and the ox that was killed was worth as much more as the other, yet satisfaction was to be made only out of the live ox which did the mischief; he was to be sold and Ver. 35.

BOOK VI.

the money divided: but it might so happen that the ox which was killed was of little value, and the live ox worth many pounds, in which case it seems so unreasonable, that the man whose loss was small should be a great gainer by the sale of the ox which did the damage, that the Jewish lawyers resolve the meaning of this law is, the man whose ox was killed should receive for half the loss he had sustained; but if it appeared that the ox used to push, and was notoriously mischievous, the sufferer was to receive a full price for his damage, but the dead ox belonged to him who paid for the loss. And by this general rule the Jews regulated all other cases, making those mischiefs that were done by beasts that were used to hurt, or were of a dangerous nature, to be punished above as much more, than the damage done by a creature that was commonly quiet or with a part of his body that was usually inoffensive.

L'Empereur in Bava Kama. c. 1.

Exod. xxii. 5.

The trespass done by beasts eating another man's corn or grass, or spoiling his vineyard, was thus repaired: the sufferer was to have satisfaction made him out of the best of that kind which the owner of the beasts possessed. The Jews were so scrupulous in this matter, that to prevent the damage one man might do another, they made a constitution that no man should keep goats, or rabbits, or any such small creatures, near the corn fields, or vineyards, or oliveyards of his neighbour; no, says the Mischna, nor in any part of the land of Israel, but in Syria, or in the deserts of their own land.

Bava Kama. c. 9. sect. 7.

Exod. xxii. 6.

If a man kindled a fire in his own ground, and within his own bounds, and it spread further, to the damage of his neighbour, he was obliged to make

restitution, though he had no hand in putting fire to the stacks of corn that were burnt by it, because he should have looked better after it when he had kindled it. But here the Jewish lawyers consider at what distance the fire was kindled, and resolve, that if there was a fence of four cubits high, or a public highway, or a river between the fire and the field, or stack of corn that was burnt, the man that kindled it was free. CHAP. XI.

CHAP. XII.

Laws of mercy.

THE judicial laws relating to mercy, to charity, and compassion, were truly divine, and suitable to the bounty and goodness of the great Lawgiver to the meanest of his creatures. A Hebrew was obliged to lend money to the poor of his own nation without usury; by the poor, say the Jews, is not to be understood one that goes a begging, but a person in such want as to deserve pity more than those who have the confidence to beg in the streets. The foundation of this precept was to impress upon them the great virtue of kindness and clemency, whereby poor people being assisted in this way of lending them money gratis, might recover again into a better condition under the blessing of Divine providence. This sort of charity is frequently in the scripture distinguished by the name of *righteousness*, which word, says Maimonides, does not merely signify the giving to every man his own, but what a man does out of pure love to virtue and goodness, is properly called by that name; that is, Exod. xxii. 25. Deut. xxiv. 13.

BOOK VI. says Dr. Hammond, (in his Practical Catechism,) that degree of mercy, which the law required of every Jew, without which he could not be accounted righteous. *Usury*, in the law, is supposed to mean that which is taken for money lent; and by *increase* is understood what is received for the use of corn fruits, or goods; both these oppressions are forbidden by the law, which is so strictly interpreted by some Jews, that all Israelites are required to have no hand in letting out money to usury, either by writing the bonds, or being a witness to them, or by being bound with others for the interest of their money: for the word, they observe, is in the plural number, *Ye shall not put upon him usury;* which law is fully handled by Mr. Selden, who shews that some usury was forbidden by the law, other by the decrees of the wise man. The law forbade them to contract to receive back again any sum of money more than they lent. But it was further required by their wise men that they should not receive any gift beforehand, to induce them to lend, nor any thing by way of gratuity to express their thankfulness afterwards; yet this last was permitted in the loan of orphans' money, as Maimonides remarks; and there are some who think this law only forbade them to take usury of a poor Israelite, but not of a rich, it being unreasonable that he should increase his wealth by the use of his neighbour's money, and he have no profit by it himself.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 53.

Lev. xxxv. 37.

Exod. xxii. 25.

De Jure N. & G. lib. vi. c. 9, 10.

No usury was to be taken for money lent to proselytes; but some Jews will have it to be an affirmative precept, that usury must be taken of a stranger, or a Gentile; but others of them have been so modest as to decree, that though the law

did permit them to take usury of a Gentile, yet they were not to practise it, unless it was to provide for themselves that they might live more safely among other nations; and they add this reason for this limitation, lest the Jews by this way of commerce and traffick should grow too familiar with the Gentiles, and learn their manners. Only men that studied the law might freely lend their money upon usury, for this very end, as they think, that they might make a gain of it and enrich themselves. It is six times forbidden in the law, according to their ancient doctors, to lend to their brethren upon usury; and as nothing was more reasonable than this, that their neighbours making great gain by merchandise, (such as the Sidonians, Tyrians, and those that lived upon the Red sea, and Egyptians,) should not borrow money of the Israelites for nothing; so it was no less equitable, that the Israelites themselves, whose chiefest profit was by husbandry and breeding of cattle, should have money lent them freely by one another without any interest, their land not being a country of traffick wherein money might be improved as in other countries. Abarbinel is so tender as to say that usury has something in it so unequal, (at least as it is commonly practised,) that God did not permit the Israelites to exercise it among all their neighbours, but only those of the seven nations of Canaan. And thus far he is in the right, that every one who was not a Jew was not to be esteemed a stranger. An Edomite, for instance, is called their brother; and therefore this precept, *Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother*, is to be extended to the Edomites. In like manner, says he, neither do the Ish-

CHAP. XII.

Wagenseil. in Sota. p. 60.

Deut. xxiii. 19.

Ver. 7.

BOOK VI. maelites come under the name of strangers, nor other people, but those of the seven nations. And this opinion Leo of Modena follows in his present history of the Jews, who observes further, that it is only their present distress in which they have no other way of livelihood left, that makes them think it lawful to lend upon usury to those among whom they live.

Part ii. chap. 5.

Deut. xxiv. 10. But though one Hebrew was not allowed to take usury of another, yet he might require a pledge for money lent, to secure the payment of it. Yet he was not allowed the privilege of going into the house of the debtor, and take what he pleased; he was to stand without, and take what the borrower could best spare, who was to choose what was proper to give; and if it was sufficient, the lender had reason to be satisfied with it. If the man was poor, so as to be obliged to pawn the coverlid of his bed, or any of his bed clothes, or any thing that contributed to the preservation of his life or health; his pledge was to be returned before night, lest, (says the law particularly,) he should be forced to borrow from others a necessary covering to defend him from the cold, and not be able perhaps to procure it. Any barbarity that was exercised in defiance of this law God resolved to punish from himself; and say the Hebrew doctors, the offender was likewise to be beaten by order of the court of judgment. This injunction seems to have been intended to keep them from taking any pledge of a poor man; for to what purpose should they every morning fetch a pledge, and every evening carry it back again, which would only create them a great deal of trouble.

Exod. xxii. 26.

The nether or the upper millstone was particularly forbidden to be received as a pledge, because it was the man's livelihood, by which he maintained himself and his family, and kept them from starving. Upon this account it was unlawful to take any other thing for a security, by the want of which a man might be in danger to be undone; for example, they did not allow a man to seize upon the oxen that were at plough: he that broke this law was scourged. CHAP. XII. Deut. xxiv. 6, 7.

CHAP. XIII.

Of charity to widows and orphans, and the poor.

THE widows and orphans were entitled by the divine law to all possible tenderness and good usage. No one (as rabbi Levi remarks) was to give them trouble in word or deed, but in all commerce with them, in buying, selling, or any other intercourse, to treat them, not only civilly, but kindly and benignly; because such have few or none to protect or plead their cause; and therefore the law took care of them as if their husbands and parents were yet alive, to have justice done them; it was cruelty to take their raiment for a pledge. Whoever reviled, or insulted, or defrauded them, much more if any man struck them, he was liable to the judgment of God, who intended himself to be their avenger, and punish him with measure for measure, by making his wife a widow, and his children fatherless. If a woman, say the Jews, shall afflict the widow or the orphan, she shall die, and her husband shall marry another wife, who shall afflict her children. Exod. xxii. 25. Precept 65.

BOOK VI. A competent provision was made for the poor by an express law. Every one was obliged to leave a corner of his field unreaped, for their use; it must be a sixtieth part, at least, as their wise men have determined, and that in the extreme part of the field, rather than in any other place, that the poor might know where to come for it; if a sheaf was forgotten, the owner was not to go back to fetch it: but the Talmudists have given such a construction of this law, as to make it of little use; for they say, a sheaf was not taken to be forgotten, unless, not only the owner of the field, but all the labourers forgot it; and if none of them remembered it, yet if a man that passed by that way came and gave them notice of it, it was not looked upon as lost by forgetfulness. Yet they are so kind as to extend this law not only to sheaves of corn left in the field, but to bunches of grapes, and other fruit which was left behind in their vineyards and orchards; and it seems no unreasonable interpretation of this law, that if an owner of a field or his workmen called to mind, before they were gone quite away, that a sheaf was left in such a place, they might go back and fetch it; but not if they did not remember it till they came into the city. They that would see more cases about this matter may look into *Maimonides de Donis Pauperum*, translated by the late Dr. Prideaux, and his very learned annotations upon it. Josephus seems to have interpreted this command with the greatest charity, where he observes, that they were not only not to go back to fetch what they had forgotten, but to leave on purpose corn and grapes and olives, for the benefit of the poor, who are commonly put together as proper

Lev. xix. 9, 10, &c. Deut. xxiv. 1.

Cap. 5.

Antiq. lib. iv. c. 8.

objects for relief, under the name of the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. CHAP. XIII.

If an ear of corn fell (as they cut it, or bound it up) out of the sheaves, or from under the sickle, they were not to gather it from the ground; but if three ears fell at a time, they might, say the Talmudists, be picked up. Rabbi Levi Precept 214.

In those countries the olive trees were beaten with sticks to bring down the fruit, and the owner was not to search the boughs after they were once beaten: but the poor might go into the oliveyards, and gather what they found still remaining on the trees. A vineyard was not to be gleaned after the grapes were once gathered; nor if any fell to the ground as they gathered them, were they to take them up; that is, if one or two clusters fell, but not if three, much less if more; for they understand this as they do the precept about the ears of corn. Lev. xix. 10.

They also say, they were bound to leave the corners of the vineyard uncut, as well as the corners of the field; and that, says the law, for the benefit of the poor and the stranger, who is supposed to be a proselyte of righteousness, yet they did not hinder any poor Gentile from partaking of this charity; and the violation of these laws, by the owner, was punished with beating: but say the Jews, if the poor themselves left any behind, after the usual time allowed for the gathering such fruits, or corn, as was left for them, it was lawful for the owner to take it himself; and he was not bound either to pay the poor the price of it, or leave it for the beasts and the birds: for the command is, say the Jewish doctors, (who nicely scan these things,) that it shall be for the poor, and that it be left for Selden de Jure N. & G. c. 6.

BOOK VI. them; but not any thing given them in the place of it.

Schickard Jus Regium. Theorem 17.

These precepts obliged such strangers as were proselytes to the Jewish religion, who before they were admitted into the church, were examined whether they understood that they must observe such and such laws, particularly these of charity to the poor, which were propounded to them plainly and distinctly; and after they had promised to keep them they were received by circumcision.

Deut. xxiii. 24.

There is a law which allowed the poor, especially travellers as they passed through a vineyard, to eat what they pleased for their present use: this the writers of that nation understand to be an indulgence granted to poor labourers, who were hired to work in the vineyard in the time of vintage, whom the owners might not hinder from eating as many grapes as they would (and the same held good in olives, figs, dates, and all other fruit) as long as they were at work, but not after they had done working: and if their master would not allow them the benefit of this law, he was to be scourged with forty stripes, save one. But there is no reason to restrain this indulgence to hirelings of whom there is no mention at all in this law; and therefore Josephus seems to have justly enlarged this privilege to all travellers on the highway, though they were not Israelites, (to whom, and to proselytes of justice alone, they confine this advantage,) but mere strangers of any other nation, who had occasion to pass by a vineyard and wanted refreshment. By this permission they were not allowed to tread down the vines, and make waste among the grapes, but only to step aside out of their way into the skirts of the vineyard, which

Antiq. lib. iv. c. 8.

lay near the road, and there to satisfy their hunger without entering further in; which was no damage to the owner, considering the great plenty of fruit in that country. They might eat for their present necessity or delight, but not to carry any away with them in their pouches or garments or bosoms, or so much as in their hands. They had the same advantage in a corn field, which, say they, extended to Jews, but not to Gentiles, under the restrictions above mentioned. CHAP. XIII.

CHAP. XIV.

Mercy to strangers, to servants, to the deaf, the blind, to beasts and birds.

STRANGERS, who had renounced idolatry, had a right to humanity and tenderness by an express command; they were to be dealt with equally in courts of justice without distinction between them and Israelites. They were neither to vex a stranger, nor oppress him; the first of which the Hebrews will have to consist in not upbraiding him with his former state of paganism, nor give him any afflicting words, such as, "Remember what thou wast," or, "what thy father did;" and this was neither to be done to a proselyte of justice, nor to a proselyte of the gate, as far as Mr. Selden could judge of their opinion. The second, not to oppress him, consisted in not using him hardly in their dealing with him, by making him pay, for instance, more for any thing than it was worth; which the same Mr. Selden thinks, the Hebrews were of opinion, belonged only to their usage of proselytes of justice, who Exod. xxiii. 9. De Jure N. et G. c. 4.

BOOK VI. were perfectly in their communion: but this is unreasonable; as Levi of Barcelona observes, by thus treating any proselyte they might endanger their return to paganism again, out of indignation to be so despised, and much more, when they saw they were wronged, which God took care they should not be, because they were more helpless than other men, and had fewer friends: and this is the reason that this precept, as the Jews themselves have computed, is inculcated in one and twenty places. The motive to enforce obedience to this law was, the remembrance of the oppressions they suffered in Egypt, where they were strangers, and from whence they were delivered only by the divine mercy which they ought to imitate.

Deut. xxiv. 14. A hired servant was not to be oppressed either by putting more work upon him than he was able to do, or by detaining his wages when it was done: there were two sorts of people, say the Jews, that wrought for hire, one were day labourers, the other labourers by night; neither of which were to stay for their wages beyond the time appointed, but the one were to have it before sunset, the other before morning; for it was due as soon as the day or the night was done; for, says a rabbi, the merciful God would have his creatures subsist, which poor labourers cannot do, if they want their wages to buy them victuals. No difference was made between a natural Jew and a proselyte of the gate; the hire was to be paid that was due to him either by contract or by natural equity, whether he had agreed to serve for a day, a month, or a year, unless he was willing it should remain in his master's hands. The breach of this law was punished by God, who promised

Levi Barcel. Precept 238.

to hear the cries of the poor, and to avenge them. CHAP. XIV.

It was a cruel and base indignity to curse the deaf, whether man or woman, though he could not hear the curse, so was insensible of the injury, nor could he do himself right, or answer for himself. The case of the sick and infirm, or the absent, was the same with the deaf. As for others, who were not deaf, it was forbidden to curse them, says Maimonides, because it provoked men to anger and rage, and incited them to barbarity and revenge. It was equally inhuman to put a stumblingblock before the blind, which proceeded from so savage a disposition, that the Hebrew doctors seem to think men incapable of it; and therefore expound this law of giving ill counsel to simple persons, and advising them to their disadvantage. If any man was convicted of either of these crimes, he was beaten. Lev. xix. 14. More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 5.

Nor were the brute beasts forgotten in the laws of mercy and compassion enacted by Moses; the cattle that were usually employed in their labours had a right to the benefit of the sabbatical rest; and this was absolutely necessary, it being impossible for their servants to observe the sabbath as they are required, if they were obliged to set their beasts to work. Exod. xx. 10.

It was a matter of common right for one man to take care of the beasts of another, and this belonged to their enemies as well as friends. If a man met an ox or a sheep, or any other beast going astray, he was bound, not only to give notice to the owner, but to bring it back himself; if the owner lived at a great distance, or it could not be discovered who he was, he was obliged to make proclamation by the public Deut. xxii. 1, 2, &c.

BOOK VI. crier, that such a beast was with him, and that, say the Jews, three or four times. But here they are pleased to make a distinction, that they were to do this, if there were marks upon the beast; but if there were none, they were not bound to cry it, which seems to be an unreasonable limitation. The beast was to be restored when demanded by the owner, he paying the charges of keeping it from the time it was taken up till it came into his hands. But if nobody could prove a right in the beast that was lost, it became his who found it, and he might lawfully, by right of possession, keep it as his own. In all other cases of things lost, the same law was to be observed.

Selden de Jure N. et G. c. 4.

Exod. xxiii. 5. An Israelite was forbidden to turn away his eyes, as if he did not see the danger an ox or any other beast was in that was fallen down, or oppressed by his burden, but was commanded to help it up, though the owner was his avowed enemy. This precept the Jewish doctors, after their usual severity, would have belong only to an Israelite that hated them; and they put several cases upon this law; as what if the beast be a Gentile's, and the burden was the property of an Israelite, or on the contrary, what is to be done? And if they meet with two beasts belonging both to Israelites, and labouring under burdens; but one the beast of a friend, the other of an enemy, which is he bound to help? In which they resolve, that he is by this law to have regard to the beast of his enemy, that he may subdue his evil affection, which would persuade him otherways. These writers have raised many other difficulties which are equally nice and insignificant.

In locum. David Chytræus, a man of learning, in his observa-

tions upon this law gives a famous example of this sort of piety in Alphonsus, king of Naples, who travelling upon the road with a great number of courtiers, and seeing a poor ass with a burden sunk into a deep slough, (when all that went before him passed by without any regard,) when he came to the place stopped, and went himself to the driver, and lent him assistance to help the ass out of the dirt. CHAP. XIV.

It was a custom among the Hebrews (as well as among the Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans) to use oxen in treading out their corn, either with their feet barely, or by drawing a cart or other instrument over it; and while they were at work some muzzled them, others daubed their mouths with dung; others hung a wooden instrument about their neck, which hindered them from stooping down, or put sharp pricks in their mouths, or kept them without drink, or covered their corn with skins to prevent their coming at it; which inhumanity is forbidden by Moses, who instructs his people, by shewing mercy to their beasts, to be kind and compassionate one to another. Deut. xxv. 4.

The birds, especially such as were clean, and might lawfully be eaten, were likewise to be used with tenderness. If a man found a nest, he might take the young, but the dam he was obliged to let fly, it being a sufficient affliction, as Maimonides calls it, to the old one to lose her young; and it being unreasonable also that men should consider only their own present interest, without regard to posterity, to whom the breed ought to be continued, by letting the old one go free. Long life and temporal prosperity are annexed to the observation of this law; from whence the Jews have fancied that Deut. xxii. 6.

BOOK VI. the observation of this single precept was of so great a value, as to procure even forgiveness of sins, and a long life; which is such a foolish conceit, that it makes all other commands unnecessary. The plain meaning is, that God would reward them for their kind usage even of brute creatures, if they were possessed of other virtues, such as charity to their poor neighbours. And so the Mischna discourses well: If in a light precept concerning a thing which is scarce worth a farthing, the law says, *that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest prolong thy days;* how much more may this be expected from obeying more important matters of the law!

Tract. Chollin.

CHAP. XV.

Laws concerning food. The eating of blood forbidden.

Gen. i. 28. THE first grant made to mankind concerning food was soon after the creation, and extended no further than to the plants and fruits of the earth. There is no mention of beasts, or birds, or fishes in this assignation; for being made in pairs, in their several species, (we may well suppose,) and not being yet multiplied, the killing of them would have been the destruction of the kind; whereas there were plants innumerable, and great variety of fruit for sustenance. Mankind therefore, though there was no prohibition, yet are thought to have abstained from the eating of flesh till after the flood, unless it were upon some special occasions; as perhaps when they sacrificed living creatures, which they did in process of time, though not at the first.

Gen. ix. 3. This grant was enlarged immediately after the

deluge, by allowing the eating of all living creatures; otherwise, says Abarbinel, there would not have been food enough for Noah and his sons; the fruits of the earth, which were before abundant, being all destroyed, so that for the present there were not sufficient for their support. Others think the reason of it was, because the fruits of the earth were not so nutritive as they had been, before the salt water of the sea very much spoiled the soil. But this privilege was restrained by an exception, that the blood of beasts should not be eaten, just, as at the first, one fruit in the midst of the garden was excepted when all the rest were allowed. The Hebrew doctors generally understand this to be a prohibition, to cut off any limb of a living creature, and to eat it while the life, that is the blood, was in it: for Maimonides conceives, that there were some people in the old world so fierce and barbarous, that they eat raw flesh while it was yet reeking from the beast, out of whose body it was cut, and this he makes to have been a part of their idolatrous worship: the pagan kings, says he, used to follow this custom in the sacrifices of their idols, when they cut off the limb of the beast and feasted upon it. But it was certainly a positive precept that the blood of no creature should be eaten, and the true design of this injunction was, that God intending in aftertimes to reserve the blood for the expiation of sin, required this early abstinence from it, that the Hebrews might be the better prepared to submit to that law, and understand the reason of it, which was, that it was the life of the beast which God accepted instead of their life, when they had forfeited it by their sins.

CHAP. XV.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 48.

BOOK VI. This prohibition was renewed several times in the Mosaic law, and the Jews make a particular remark upon the penalty annexed to it, which was, that God would set his face against the criminal, which threatening is denounced but once more in the whole scriptures. God says, as Maimonides notes, I will set my face against that man that eats blood, as he says of those that did immolate their children to Moloch, that he would set his face against them; and this expression is to be met with no where else, but only in these two commandments against eating of blood and idolatry; the reason is, because the eating of blood had a relation to certain sorts of idolatry, and gave occasion to the worshipping of the Devil: and this he proves by observing, that though among the Zabii blood was looked upon as a very unclean and defiling thing, nevertheless they did eat it, because they regarded it as meat proper for the gods, and believed that such persons as did eat it entered thereby into a correspondence with the deities, who would reveal to them future things. There being some among them who looked upon it as a great hardship to eat blood, against the use of which nature itself seemed to have raised an abhorrence in man, they used the following expedient. They sat down in a circle to eat the blood, not that they did actually eat it, but flattered themselves with a notion that whilst they were feeding upon the flesh the gods did eat the blood, and that by so doing they contracted a certain commerce and correspondence, and familiarity with them, since they did eat at the same table, and of the same meats.

Lev. xvii. 10.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 46.

The Jews have made a vast number of observations upon this prohibition of eating blood, too long

to be inserted here. They were extremely careful in the manner of the killing of their beasts, so that no blood might remain in the fleshy or musculous parts; and Maimonides thinks he has found out a singular mystery in the words of the law, *the blood is the life.* He distinguishes the blood into that which, as it issues forth, carries the life along with it, being the same that is poured upon the altar, and which springs out with a considerable force or impetuosity when the beast is killed; he who eats this sort of blood is to be cut off from his people; but he who eats of the blood which comes out by drops after the beast is dead, or that which issues immediately after the wound is given, before the beast begins to die, deserves to be scourged only: the writers of that people assert further, that the blood forbidden to be eaten must be separated from the body of the beasts, because they did not think fit a person should be made a criminal, for having eaten some of the blood distilling from the wound, which ought not to be taken as separated from the body. According to the tradition of the Jews, this precept concerning blood (which is the seventh among those they call the commandments of the Noachides) was the only one given to Noah, whereas the other six were delivered to Adam. This law was equally obligatory upon Israelites and strangers.

CHAP. XV.

Maimon. Tract. Schechita.

CHAP. XVI.

Of beasts clean and unclean. Of fishes.

THE divine bounty having bestowed upon mankind after the flood every living thing to be their

BOOK VI. food, it has raised a question among learned men,
Lev. xi. 1, &c. why he should restrain his own people from the benefit of this general grant; and some have thought this so unaccountable, that they think it in vain to inquire into the reasons of the difference that is made of meats; concerning which Cunæus declares,
De Rep. Heb. lib. ii. c. 24. (as Plutarch does of the laws of Solon and Lycurgus,) that no doubt they were enacted with wise counsel, but the reason of the lawgivers cannot be known. But others conceive the reason is sufficiently plain; and the Jews are of opinion, that the creatures called unclean were forbidden to be eaten, because they were unwholesome food. This opinion perhaps is not wholly groundless; for though there be some creatures prohibited which seem to us of as good nourishment as those which are allowed, yet considering that climate wherein the Jews lived, and the temper of their blood, which was very hot, and apt to be extremely corrupted, (as appears by the unusual leprosy, to which they were subject more than other nations,) it is reasonable to conclude that God had some respect to this in the ordering of their diet. But the principal design was certainly to separate the Israelites from all other people in the world, by a rule of eating peculiar to themselves, which kept them from such familiar conversation as otherwise they might have had with the Gentiles, and consequently from learning their idolatrous customs. Besides, it may be observed, that most of the creatures which are pronounced unclean, were such as were in high esteem and sacred among the heathen; as a swine was to Venus, the owl to Minerva, the hawk to Apollo, the eagle to Jupiter, and even the dog to Hecate; which

gave occasion to Origen justly to fall into admiration of the wisdom of Moses, who so perfectly understood the nature of all animals, and what relation they had to demons, that he declared all those to be unclean which were esteemed by the Egyptians and other nations to be the instruments of divination, and those to be clean which were not so: and if in the time of Moses such creatures were not sacred to demons, it is a greater wonder that he should mark out those for impure which proved to be so sacred to after-ages; as a great number of birds mentioned in Porphyry, who says, the gods used them as heralds to declare their mind to men; and several other creatures mentioned by other authors, as peculiarly appropriated to other deities.

CHAP. XVI.

Contra Celsum, lib. iv.

Lib. iii. περὶ Ἀποχῆς.

All beasts, it is observed, were lawful to be eaten before the restraint laid upon food by the Levitical institution; but before the law was delivered, and long afterward, there was one particular part of clean creatures that the Israelites avoided to eat, upon the account of a misfortune that happened to the patriarch Jacob when he wrestled with the angel, who in the contest touched the hollow of his thigh, and dislocated his hip-bone: in commemoration therefore of this adventure, his posterity forbore to eat that sinew or tendon which fastens the hip-bone in its socket, which comprehends likewise the flesh of that muscle which is connected to it. The offender against this law, as the Jewish masters tell us, was to be punished by beating.

Gen. xxxii. 31.

Selden de Syned. lib. ii. p. 552.

The law concerning the eating of living creatures is divided into four branches, and relates to beasts, to fishes, to birds, and to creeping things. Of beasts, there are some whose hoofs are solid, and not at all

BOOK VI. divided, such as horses, asses, and mules; others that are divided into several parts like toes, as lions, wolves, and dogs; a third part are only divided into two parts, as oxen, deer, sheep; and these are of two kinds, for some divide the hoof into two parts, but is not cloven quite through, as the camel, whose hoof is parted above, but joined by a thick skin below, and therefore reckoned among unclean beasts; others are both divided and cloven, which are in that respect pronounced clean by the law.

But to render beasts perfectly clean, it was necessary that not only the hoof should be cloven entirely through, but they were to chew the cud, that is, they were to be such as had not a set of teeth above and below; such are oxen, sheep, and goats, which want upper teeth, and therefore bring their meat up again into their mouths after it has been sometime in the stomach, that it might, by a new chewing of it, be better prepared for digestion. The author of a book called *Porta Cæli* explains this very exactly; when he says, for want of teeth they cannot chew their food perfectly at one time, nor can the stomach make a perfect digestion till it be ground a second time, and therefore such creatures are provided with a double stomach, an upper, into which the meat goes down after the first chewing, and another, into which it is sent after it has been grinded a second time. All kinds of animals which had not every one of these marks (of parting the hoof, and being cloven-footed, and chewing the cud) were unlawful to be eaten; and such are these:

The camel, who chewed the cud, and whose hoof, though it divided, yet it was not cloven through.

The coney. This beast is said to chew the cud,

which it certainly does not; and therefore the learned Bochart proves by many arguments, that the original signifies a mountain mouse, "which "make their holes in rocks," as rabbits do not, and chew the cud; but because he did not divide the hoof, he was unclean. Hierozoic. p. i. lib. iii. c. 33.

The hare. This creature does not divide the hoof, but chewing the cud is ascribed to it; and Aristotle in some measure confirms it by saying, it has a runnet in the stomach. An eminent anatomist has made this observation in his dissection of a hare, that though he found but one stomach, which made him wonder at first that Moses should reckon it among the creatures that ruminate; yet he found that what was wanting in the simple stomach was supplied by the largeness of the *intestinum cæcum*, which gut is of a great bigness, consisting of two parts; in one of which he found liquid and white excrements, (like to chyle,) as if it were another stomach; the other part toward the *ileon* being full of black excrements. Prov. xxx. 26. Lib. iii. c. 22. Bartholinus Cent. Anatom. 2. Hist. 86.

The swine, which, though it has the first part of the mark of a clean creature completely, being cloven-footed as well as having the hoof divided, yet not chewing the cud, is forbidden to be eaten. And this, no doubt, was the sole foundation why the Jews abstained from this meat; whose filthy feeding and wallowing in the mire, Maimonides fancies, was the only cause why it was prohibited; others give the reason, because it feeds upon flesh, and some that it breeds the leprosy; to which the inhabitants in those countries were very subject: but whatever grounds there might be of this prohibition, that alone could not be the reason why the whole nation More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 48. Cunæus de Rep. Heb. lib. ii. c. ult.

BOOK VI. of the Jews abhorred this more than any unclean creatures which were equally forbidden with this, insomuch that they called it *another*, or a *strange thing*; which arose certainly from some other cause, that in process of time made this the most abominable of all other creatures; and that was, it is supposed, because the Gentiles used it in their sacrifices and mysteries of religion, and because nothing was accounted a more delicious food among many great nations; which (if a strong abhorrence had not been infused into the Jews of this creature) might have invited them to their tables, and bred such familiarity with them as might have concluded in idolatry. They were not allowed so much as to open these beasts to take out the fat, and apply it to any use. In this the Jews are so scrupulous, that they say they may not touch them though alive, with one of their fingers, for fear of the leprosy, it being a proverbial saying among them, "that ten measures of "leprosy descending into the world, swine took to "themselves nine of them, and the rest of the world "one." The touch of these beasts, that were prohibited to be eaten, when they were dead, made a person unclean until the evening: but while they were alive it was not unlawful to touch them, for they used camels, and horses, and asses, for their necessary service.

Deut. xiv. 4, 5. Moses gives the names of some of those creatures that had the marks to pronounce them clean, and in the first place he mentions

The ox, the sheep, and the goat, because they were the only creatures offered to God in sacrifice.

Deut. xii. 15, 22. The hart and the roebuck, and the wild goat, these, though they might not be sacrificed, yet were allow-

ed to be eaten; and are often named as the principal food in the land of Canaan. CHAP. XVI.

The pygarg. This is also a kind of doe, or goat, which the Hebrews call *dison*. We find mention of *pygargus* in the eleventh satire of Juvenal, where the old scholiast gives this account of it, that it is a kind of deer, *quæ retriores partes albas habet*, whose hinder parts are white; whence it had its name among the Greeks, who call the buttocks *pugæ*.

The wild ox; Bochart asserts that there were no such creatures in Judæa, which are bred in colder countries; therefore he reckons this among the deer or goats. Hierozoic. p. i. lib. iii. c. 28.

The chamois. This also was a kind of goat, or hart, of which there were great variety in those countries; but this was remarkable for activity and jumping. There are no more particulars of clean beasts mentioned in the Mosaic law.

Though some of the heathens abstained constantly from all fish, and others for some time only, when they were under strict obligations of purity, yet the Hebrews were left at greater liberty, being forbidden only some kind of fish, by abstaining from which they were sufficiently distinguished from those nations which did eat all indifferently, and accounted fish the greatest delicacy. Fish, whether they were found in seas, or rivers, or lakes, or ponds, that had fins and scales, were to be eaten: but their doctors say that if but one scale was found upon a fish it was accounted lawful; and they had no occasion to observe whether it had fins or no; for all that have scales, they say, have fins, though, on the contrary, all that have fins have not scales. They observe Levi Barcel. precept 150.

BOOK VI. also, secondly, that it was lawful to eat young fish before the scales appeared, if they were of that kind that have scales when they are grown: and thirdly, all fishes that have scales when they are in the sea, but cast them when they are taken out, are lawful. It was an abomination to eat any fishes that had not these marks, (which is not said of beasts, that are only called unclean,) because there was greater danger of offending in this matter, fishes being a more common food among the people of the East than flesh, or any other diet.

CHAP. XVII.

Of birds clean and unclean.

THE lawgiver of the Hebrews laid down no notes to distinguish clean birds from unclean; and therefore their doctors say, all birds are lawful to be eaten but those hereafter mentioned, which they were to have in abhorrence; yet they venture to give certain marks of a clean bird, the principal of which are, if it does not fasten its talons; that is, if it be not rapacious, and has one claw longer than the rest. The birds forbidden are,

The eagle, whose flesh is very hard, and nature ravenous; and therefore upon a natural and moral account some authors fancy it was prohibited: but Origen, I think, has given a better account in the place above mentioned, that Moses by his admirable wisdom understood what creatures were looked upon as prophetical by the Egyptians and other nations, and these he forbid to the Jews, among which he expressly names the eagle and the hawk; for Dio-

L.b. i. Orat. 5.

dorus Siculus relates, that the people of Thebes worship the eagle, looking upon it as a royal bird, worthy of Jupiter; and Julian, in his oration upon the mother of the gods, says, that in the time of their strictest purifications they were permitted to eat birds, except a few which had commonly been held sacred, which is a plain acknowledgment of the sacredness of some birds among the Gentiles.

The ossifrage; a species of the eagle, but of what kind is not so certain.

The ospray, or black eagle, which though it be the least, is the strongest of all other; and therefore called *valeria* by the Romans.

The kite and the vulture after his kind; that is, all the species of them.

Every raven, of which the Arabian writers mention four kinds; and some think under this name is comprehended not only crows and daws and coughs, but starlings and pies also.

The owl. The Hebrew word signifies a bird which inhabits the wildernesses and desolate places, by which the ancient interpreters of scripture understand the ostrich; and it is certain it was the constant persuasion of the Jews, that God did not permit them to eat the flesh of an ostrich, which is nowhere forbidden if not in this law. It is supposed to mean the female ostrich.

The night-hawk. The word in the original, says the learned Bochart, signifies the male ostrich; for there is no general name for this bird in the Hebrew language to comprehend both sexes, (as there is for an eagle and a raven,) and therefore Moses mentions both male and female distinctly, that none might think by forbidding one of them only, he allowed the other.

Hierozoic. p. ii. lib. ii. c. 14.

BOOK VI. The cuckoo.

The hawk after his kind. There are various kinds of these birds; Callimachus mentions six, Aristotle ten, and Pliny sixteen sorts.

The little owl. The learned author above has collected many ingenious arguments to prove that the word in the original signifies a *bittern*.

The cormorant: the same excellent person does not approve this translation, yet he confesses the Hebrew word signifies some sea-bird, which sits upon rocks, and strikes at fishes with great force, and draws them out of the waters.

The great owl. St. Hierome takes the word to signify a stork, and others a bustard.

The swan.

The pelican.

The gier eagle. It was of a dubious kind, between an eagle and a vulture; and therefore happily translated by us a gier eagle, that is, a vulture eagle. It was a harmless goodnatured bird, and was made the hieroglyphic of mercy and tenderness among the Egyptians.

The stork. This bird, notwithstanding his piety, so much celebrated by authors, and which is the very import of the word in the original, was prohibited, it is supposed, because it feeds upon serpents; though upon this account it was had in honour by the Egyptians, and the people of Thessaly.

The heron after his kind. The word in the original being derived from another which signifies *anger*, Bochart rather takes it for a mountain falcon, which is a fierce bird, and very furious.

The lapwing, conceived by the Hebrew doctors to be a mountain cock with a double crest.

The bat. Moses begins the catalogue of birds with the noblest, which is the eagle, and ends it with the vilest, which is a bat, being of a dubious kind between a bird and a mouse. The name in the Hebrew imports it to be a bird of darkness. It is observed the birds that are forbidden are either rapacious and live on flesh, as eagles and hawks, or are night birds, as owls and bats, or haunt marshes and lakes, as the cormorant, or are heavy and not easily raised from the earth, as the ostrich, or live upon dung and coarse diet, as the lapwing; and upon these accounts are prohibited by Moses, who allows those that live upon a cleaner food.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of creeping creatures that flew.

ALL flying things that go upon four feet (called in our translation, *fowls that creep*) are expressly forbidden by the Mosaic law, such as flies, wasps, and bees. A fly indeed is observed to have six feet, yet it goes only upon four, the two forefeet serving for other uses. From this prohibition are excepted such flying insects, as beside their four feet wherewith they go, have two legs, or thighs, which give them power to leap upon the earth as well as to go. As to the various sorts of locusts, it is observed, there are nine kinds of locusts mentioned in the scriptures; four of which are only permitted to be eaten; the first is called,

The locust after its kind, which is supposed to signify a peculiar sort, which leaped as well as walked.

BOOK VI. The bald locust after its kind, which takes great delight in climbing upon rocks.

The beetle after its kind. This sort of locust seems to have its name from the vast company wherein they fly: but the word is improperly translated a beetle; for those insects are never eaten; nor are they fourfooted, with legs to leap withal.

The grasshopper after its kind. These are likewise a species of locusts in the shape of grasshoppers, which were fit for food, being large and fleshy in the eastern countries, and used to fly in such troops that they seemed to darken the sun itself. These locusts that were to be eaten are called in the original *arbeh, solam, chargol,* and *chagab;* but by what marks they were distinguished, the Hebrews differ so much, that it plainly shews they are ignorant in this matter. The most that can be made of what they say, (as a man very learned in these things has observed,) is, that the first hath neither a bunch on his back nor a tail; the second has a bunch and a tail; the third has both; the fourth has a tail but no bunch; which, whether it be true or false, is of small importance to us. But this is certain, that before the destruction of Jerusalem the Jews knew very well what kind of locusts were meant in the Levitical law, and accordingly perfectly understood what might be eaten and what not; otherwise John the Baptist would have been under great difficulties in the wilderness, when he had no other diet but this and wild honey. And indeed in desert places there was little other food but this, by which whole armies of men have been relieved when they were in danger to perish in Libya; for that locusts were a common food in the eastern and

Ludolph. Dissert. de Locust. p. i. c. 23.

southern countries, is so evident, that I have no occasion to produce authorities to prove it. The learned author before cited has shewn at large how many nations live upon them, in his Commentary upon his Ethiopic History, and more lately in his most excellent Dissertation concerning Locusts; wherein he relates what clouds of them came into Germany not many years since, (in the month of August, 1693,) of which seeing the hogs and hens and other creatures feeding greedily, he and his family ventured to eat freely of them also, and found the taste of them like that of a crab. And a Jew of Jerusalem, who was then in that country, assured him, that the locusts in Judæa were much of the same shape with these in Germany, which he demonstrated to him by a draft he had made of them.

It may be proper in this place to observe once for all, that the phrase, *after his kind*, so often repeated in the laws concerning fowls and flying things, does not necessarily signify that there are different kinds of every bird or flying thing to which it is applied, but only imports every one of that kind; for Moses does not speak in the plural number, *according to their kinds*, but in the singular, *after his kind*, which only denotes that the whole species is prohibited; and what he says of some fowls is in reason to be applied to all, though, to avoid repetition, he does not add these words, *after his kind*, to every one of them.

All other flying creeping creatures (as they are called) that came under the description and character above mentioned, whether they were locusts, or of any other species, were strictly forbidden; if they did either eat of them, or so much as touch the car-

BOOK VI. cass of them, they might not be admitted to come into the tabernacle, nor to taste of any holy thing, or to converse with their neighbours. In this uncleanness they continued till sunset. It is not said (as in other cases) that they were to wash themselves, or their clothes, which makes it probable that their mere separation for all the day from communion with God and one another was their cleansing without any other purification. But there are so many commands for washing themselves and their clothes in other defilements no greater than this, that it has persuaded some to think that such cleansing was necessary upon this account also. The law enjoins expressly that whoever bore any of the carcass of them, though it were only to carry them out of the camp, or city, to prevent infection, was defiled till the evening, and was obliged to wash his clothes, and his body in all likelihood, as was required in other purifications. No time is appointed for this, which perhaps a man might think fit to do presently, but notwithstanding he was to remain unclean till the setting of the sun.

Lev. xv. 5, 6, 7, &c.

CHAP. XIX.

Of beasts that went upon their paws. Pollution by touching their carcasses. Of creeping things that move upon the belly.

CREATURES that go upon their paws, (or, as it is in the Hebrew, upon their hands,) whose forefeet resemble hands, such as the ape, the lion, the bear, dogs and cats, might neither be eaten, nor their carcasses touched without incurring uncleanness till

sunset: to bear them when they were dead contracted the same pollution, besides the penalty of purifying the clothes, and perhaps the body, by washing. CHAP. XIX.

The law of Moses descended to creeping things, creatures that have such short feet, that some of their bellies seem to touch the ground. Of this kind are,

The weasel, which is supposed rather to signify a mole.

The mouse, that is, say the Jews, the black mouse, the red and the white; for they are of so many colours.

The tortoise after its kind: the Seventy understand this creature to be a land crocodile, which is a sort of lizard, a cubit long, to be found frequently in the deserts of Arabia.

The ferret is said to be another sort of lizard, which the Latins call *stellio*, and in those countries has a shrill cry.

The chameleon: the word imports the strongest of all the lizard kind; remarkable in those countries for its sharp encounters with serpents and land crocodiles.

The lizard: it is agreed that this likewise is a species of the lizard, but of what kind is hard to determine. The learned Bochart, out of the Arabian writers, has shewn, it resembles that which is of a reddish colour, and lies close to the earth, infecting the meat which it touches with its poison.

The snail; a sort of lizard, says the same author, that lies in the sand.

And the mole, conceived by the same admirable person to signify the chameleon which gapes to draw Hierozoic. p. i. lib. iv. c. 6.

BOOK VI. in the air. But after all that can be said, it must be confessed, that the signification of all these words is lost among the Jews; for, as a great man among them freely owns, neither these eight sorts of creeping things, nor the birds above mentioned, are known to us but by tradition; and it is certain that the Talmudists send those who are doubtful, what birds are lawful, and what not, to be informed by those who are masters in the art of fowling. The eight creatures here mentioned were forbidden to be eaten, and to touch their carcasses contracted a pollution till the evening; for nothing was unclean by the law of Moses while it was alive, but only a leper, and a woman in her separation; all other reptiles, say the Jews, as serpents and scorpions, you may touch, and not be polluted.

Aben Ezra in Lev. xi. 30.

The very touch of the carcasses of these creatures defiled every vessel of wood or metal, all raiment, skins, sacks, and other things upon which they fell; they were purified by washing, and remained unclean till the evening. By their contact the vessel, and whatever was contained in it, was defiled; if the vessel was of earth, it, being of small value, was to be broken. Any meat, which otherwise might be lawfully eaten, was made unclean, if any water poured out of such a polluted vessel came upon it; for the water being defiled, it made the meat on which it fell to be unclean also. Every thing liquid, though otherwise not prohibited, that came out of such a vessel, was to be poured out; yet dry things, such as bread, were not forbidden to be used, because they did not so soon receive any effluvias from a dead carcass as the liquid did: and the pollution was the same if the least part of the carcass

fell upon a vessel; it was to be used no more, but to be broken in pieces. CHAP. XIX.

All places where meat and drink were commonly prepared, (such as ovens, and pots, and winepresses, and cellars,) the Hebrews were obliged to keep clean and pure; the touch of these carcasses made them unclean; they were to be no more used, but to be broken down. From this law was excepted a fountain, or pit of water, into which these carcasses might fall. This was a merciful provision for their speedy cleansing from such pollutions as they frequently contracted, by allowing them to make use of any collection of waters (notwithstanding a carcass had dropped into it) in their own private grounds, as well as in the public baths, such as Bethesda seems to have been, which had five porches, that they who laboured under the same sort of pollution might betake themselves to the same porch, and go down into the water together. If this had not been permitted, it might have been impossible, considering the few rivers they had in that country, to have cleansed themselves after their defilements. The man who should draw out these carcasses out of such waters was unclean until the evening, or at least, as some Jews explain it, the instrument, whatever it was, that served him to pull the carcass out of the fountain or cistern, was polluted, and to be used no more.

But a carcass, or the least part of it, falling upon dry seed that was to be sown, gave it no defilement; if a mouse, for example, was found dead among the wheat, it might, notwithstanding, be used for seed; but other wheat which was not intended for seed was made unclean, and might not be used till it was

BOOK VI. washed; the reason of this difference was, that the seed to be sown went through many alterations before it could become food, which took away all the pollution. Wet seed might be supposed to have received some tincture from the carcass which dry did not, and not being so fit to be sown till it was dry, was in that time to be cleansed.

All creeping things that go upon the belly, such as worms and serpents, were prohibited as abominable, vile, and filthy, because they crawled upon the earth. All reptiles were forbidden that have abundance of feet, such as caterpillars, hoglice, fortylegs, and others; to eat them was unclean, and to touch them abominable. By this separate sort of diet, and these ceremonies of purification, the Hebrews were distinguished from other people, and preserved from the idolatrous customs of the neighbouring nations; not that there was any uncleanness in any of these things forbidden but what was made by the prohibition of them. It was the duty of the priests to be well skilled in the marks whereby what was lawful to be eaten might be known from what was unlawful, and therefore they are frequently charged by God himself to attend carefully to the laws that were given upon this occasion.

Lev. xvii. 15. Though the Hebrews were allowed to kill and eat any creature that was clean, yet if it died of itself, and consequently had the blood remaining in it, or was torn of wild beasts, and so beginning to be a carcass, it became unlawful, not only to be eaten but

Ver. 16. to be touched. If he offended ignorantly, when he came to know it, he was bound to purify himself by washing his clothes and his body in water, and to remain till the evening in his uncleanness. If he

neglected the means of his purification he was liable to be punished by God, and if while he continued thus unclean he presumed to eat of the peace offerings, he was in danger to be cut off from his people: but if the man wilfully violated this precept, it was a high crime against an express law, and punished, as some think, by death. But I suppose they mean he was obnoxious to the Divine displeasure, and in danger to be cut off by him if he did not offer a sacrifice, which seems to be allowed upon such occasions to expiate his offence. The Jewish doctors say, he who violated this law was only to be beaten, for cutting off, either by the hand of God or the court of judgment, was never threatened to sins of so light a nature as this: proselytes of righteousness were bound by this law, which had no obligation upon such as had not received the Jewish religion; and yet Maimonides confesses, that the Israelites themselves, when they went to war and entered the countries of the heathens and subdued them, might eat that which died of itself, or was torn of beasts, when they were in want of provision, or in danger of suffering by hunger. This sort of food was allowed to be given to strangers who were only proselytes of the gate, who had no concern with the law, being not circumcised; and it might be sold to others who were mere Gentiles and happened to be in their country. Now it may be remarked that there were these sorts of people, called by the name of *strangers*, being not of the Jewish nation; first, such as had received circumcision, and consequently embraced the Jewish religion, who were called *geretzedek*, strangers and proselytes of justice. Others were not circumcised, but yet worshipped the God of Is-

CHAP. XIX.

Lev. vii. 20.

Lev. vi. 1, 2, &c.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 41. Schickard. Jus Reg. c. 5. theorem 18.

BOOK VI. rael, who were called *strangers of the gate*, or *gere-toshab*, strangers dwelling among them; because they were to abide constantly in their country. But there were a third sort called *nocherim*, which we translate *aliens*, who were mere Gentiles, and not suffered to have an habitation among them, but only to go backward and forward for the purpose of merchandise and traffic.

CHAP. XX.

The art of butchery: their kitchen furniture, and way of dressing their meat.

TO kill beasts, and to exercise the office of a butcher with dexterity, was, among the Jews, of more reputation than to understand the liberal sciences; and this art was to be attained by much reading and long experience. They have a book concerning shamble constitutions, and in cases of difficulty they apply to some learned rabbi for advice; nor was any allowed to practise this art without a license in form, which gave the man, upon evidence of his abilities, a power to kill meat, and others to eat what he killed, provided he carefully read over every week for one year, and every month the next year, and once a quarter during his life, the constitutions above mentioned. They have particular knives for this business, great ones for larger cattle, and small for the smaller; the greater have blunter and broader points, and if they had any notches or flaws in them, they were not to be used. The feet of the great beasts must be bound in remembrance of Abraham's binding of Isaac, and

then with one cut or thrust, he cuts the windpipe asunder; then he looks upon his knife to see if there be any flaw in it, for that, say they, would terrify the beast, and cause the blood to recoil back to the heart, whereby the beast would be unfit, for having some blood in it. After this he hangs up the beast, takes out the inwards, and cutting a hole on both sides the heart, thrusts his hand through it into the body of the beast to search for blood, and if they find any remarkable blemish in the beast, it is not to be eaten. They cut the throat of a bird in the same manner: if it be a fowl that has quills in the wings, it bleeds into a heap of ashes, and therein they cover the blood; and this they do in memory of a particular office done by birds, as they say, to Rebecca, when she alighted from her camel at the sight of Isaac[a]. They cover likewise the blood of other creatures in the ground, because the earth opened her mouth to drink in the blood of Abel; and because Satan should not accuse men of cruelty when he sees the blood of so many innocent beasts shed. When they have killed a great beast, they cut out all the veins and sinews, (upon which subject they have written particular treatises,) and take out all the suet; which done, they leave them some time soaking in water, to mollify them, to cleanse them throughly, and to draw out all the blood; then they lay them upon a board to drain off the water; after which they salt them in a vessel full of holes, that the salt may carry off all the blood

[a] "Tunc temporis (aiunt) infirmitas muliebris eam invasit, et "cum surrexisset de terra volucres advolarunt, sanguinemque "virginitatis in terram occuluerunt: ideoque Deus mandavit "sanguinem avium mactatarum tegere."

BOOK VI. that remains. They never eat the hinder parts, in remembrance of Jacob's thigh.

The Jews generally buy their kitchen furniture all new, for fear it should have been used in dressing victuals which are forbidden by the law; and if they happen to buy any that belonged to a Christian, they break all the wooden and earthenware, and take all possible pains in cleansing those vessels that are of metal. The law commands, in this case, that they shall make every thing pass through the fire which can bear it, and shall purify with the waters of expiation those things which cannot. Their vessels are of two sorts, one for flesh, the other for white meats. Their milk vessels of wood are marked with three cuts, because the law, *Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk*, is repeated three times. Every Jew carries two knives with him, one for flesh, the other for cheese and fish, and these also are marked with three cuts; and if these vessels should be intermingled, they were not to eat what was dressed in them; they were broken if they were made of earth, most carefully washed if of wood; and if of iron or other metal, they were purged by fire: so very nice are they, that a knife was not used unless heated red-hot for three hours, and three days hid in the earth, and three times put into water. They never boil milk and fish at one time and over one fire over against each other, nor place them together upon the table, but separate them with somewhat set between: one cloth is laid for flesh, and another for white meat. After they had eaten flesh, or the broth of it, they were not to eat white meats for an hour after; the most religious among them would abstain for six hours, yet they

Vict. Carbens. lib. i. c. 12.

might eat a hen together with the milk of almonds. If the man had not the gift of such abstinence, he was obliged carefully to cleanse his teeth and wash his mouth, and with a piece of dry bread take away the taste of the flesh. If any suet fall into their white meats, they were not to be eaten, except there was sixty times as much of the meat as of the suet. An egg was not to be poached in a flesh vessel; they break it also, and diligently observe that none of that bloody resemblance in the top of the egg remain. If in cutting up of a hen they find eggs, they were not allowed to eat them till they were washed and softened in water and salt; flesh and fish was not to be dressed, or set on the table, or eaten together, for that, they say, would produce the leprosy. In the difficulties concerning their diet they always consulted their rabbins, who have loaded them with so many insignificant niceties and superstitions, that to mention them would be too tedious, and of no manner of importance. CHAP. XX.

CHAP. XXI.

Their meat, bread, and drink: their postures at table: their manner of feasting.

THE Hebrews were no great lovers of flesh, and their diet was usually bread and milk, and fruits, and herbs, very simple, and far from the luxury and delicacy of our modern tables. All sorts of meat and drink are often in the language of scripture called bread and water. Their bread was generally made of wheat, or barley, or lentils and beans. The bread of wheat was the most excellent, Deut. xxxii. 14. Ezek. iv. 9.

BOOK VI. That of barley was a baser sort, used commonly in times of scarcity and distress. They had a worse sort made of lentils, millet, and fitches. The manner of making bread no one can be ignorant of. They had a sort they called unleavened bread. The effects of leaven are very well known. It swells the paste and makes it sharper, and from thence the scripture takes several comparisons; but it requireth some time before it has this effect. Their way of baking was upon coals or hot ashes; they covered their dough with embers, and sometimes they baked upon hot stones. Their grain, in the first ages, was parched, afterwards they used a mortar to pound it; and at length they invented millstones, such as our common mills; and there were two sorts of them, a greater sort and a lesser. They made use of horses or asses to turn the great, the small were turned by men, and slaves were often condemned to this work by way of punishment. Handmills also were in use among the Jews; they were made of two stones, which they put one upon another.

Ruth ii. 14. Their sauces to relish what they eat were commonly nothing but salt and vinegar. They had cheese, but not butter in that hot country, as we now understand the word, but only a thick cream skimmed off their milk when it had stood some time. In the country of Judæa there was abundance of wild honey, which dropped from the hollow trees, or the clefts of rocks, where bees made their combs, which they sometimes did upon the very ground.

Exod xvi. 13, 14, 15. Manna was the food of the Hebrews in the wilderness. It fell upon the evening dew, and was

covered with the dew of the morning, by which means it was enclosed, and kept pure and free from the dust that was upon the ground. It seems to have been like a drop of dew frozen, as to its form and figure like unto coriander seed, of a pure white colour, and bright, like pearl, when newly fallen; it tasted like honey, but when it was prepared by boiling or baking, it had the taste of fresh oil. The Jews indeed say, it had all sorts of tastes, according to every one's appetite: it is certain it pleased every man's palate, was grateful to young and old, refreshed the spirits, and kept their bodies in good order. It is compared, says a rabbi, to fresh oil, which is fat and sweet, and shews how unjust their complaint was, that they had no moisture left in them, but were *dried away.* It was gathered every morning, and then either ground into flour with a handmill, or bruised with a pestle in a wooden or stone mortar, or boiled in pans, or in a pot, or made cakes of in an oven, or in a pan. In short, say the Jews, it was of such an excellent composition, that it might be dressed divers ways, or eaten as it fell; and it was agreeable in what way soever it was prepared. That which remained ungathered was melted when the sun waxed hot; though Abarbanel will have it, that what they had brought into their tents melted also when the sun grew hot, which obliged them not only to gather it early, but to bake and prepare it presently, while it was yet hard and not dissolved; but the plain sense is, that the sun which melted it, exhaled it also into the air, from whence it came, and it returned again the next morning. All this was wonderful, says the great Huetius, as was also its melting when the sun shone upon it,

CHAP. XXI.

Wisd. xvi. 20, 21.

Bechai Numb. xi. 6.

Exod. xvi. 21.

Abuetanæ Quæst. lib. iv. c. 2.

BOOK VI. and that it putrified before the next day, except on the sabbath, and yet kept in an urn many years. This food was called *manna* by the Israelites, which may reasonably signify it is a *gift* or *portion;* and the meaning is, This is *the gift of God*, or, This is that which God hath appointed us; for the word *manah* signifies to *order* or *appoint* a method of diet. The quails that covered the camp of the Israelites were only provision for one evening. The Jews are divided in their opinions concerning these birds; some conceive they were pheasants, others a sort of sea fowl: they came up from the country over against the desert, from the Arabian gulf, because they were in great abundance upon that coast.

Drusius Quæst. Hebraic. lib. i. c. 62.

The drink originally used by the Hebrews was water drawn out of wells, or rivers, into which they sometimes squeezed the juice of citrons and pomegranates; with it they often mixed honey; they had a sort of strong drink of which the principal ingredients were honey, dates, barley, and wheat: but their chief liquor was wine, called in scripture *the blood of the grape*, because the red was in greatest abundance. They frequently mixed water with it for the sake of sobriety; and sometimes, to make it more palatable, they infused spices into it. They preserved their wine in skins and bottles, and they usually drank it in a triental cup, that contained about half an English pint. When the weather was exceeding hot, they used to cool their wine with snow from mount Libanus.

They never eat in the morning till after nine o'clock, when the sacrifice was over; they had afterwards two meals, a dinner, which was sparing

and short, and a supper about six in the evening, more costly and entertaining. The Jews, says Mr. Basnage, had commonly every one their table; this might be in the early ages; for it is certain, that afterwards their tables were round, and convenient for three to eat on; not but some were larger, and would hold more. When the meal was over, the table was hung up by a ring, (which shews it was but small and light,) to set it, I suppose, out of danger of contracting any legal defilement. CHAP. XXI. Hist. of the Jews, b. v. c 16. Bava Bathra. fol. 57.

It is supposed that sitting was the original posture used by the old Hebrews, in eating and drinking: they either spread something upon the ground, and sat upon it, or they sat at table. Whatever some critics have suggested concerning the antiquity of another position of body, it is certain this was the ancientest of all; for in the Old Testament there are examples of this long before any of those that are alleged out of profane authors. The old Hebrew patriarchs sat at meat, as appears from the words of Jacob to his father, *Sit and eat of my venison.* There are many other examples to the same purpose. In those elder times every one was seated according to their proper rank and quality. Thus Abner sat by Saul's side, and David had his peculiar situation allotted him, which is signally styled his *seat* and his *place.* It seems to have been the practice, when the custom of sitting prevailed, to put off their shoes at meals; for they washed their feet even at that time, as appears from Abraham's entertaining the angels, so that they must put off their shoes for that, and it is probable they did not put them on till they went out. Gen. xxvii. 19. Exod. xxxii. 6. 1 Sam. xx. 5. 25.

This posture was afterwards changed; for when

BOOK VI. men gave themselves to ease and delicacy, they grew soft and effeminate, and lay down at their dinners and suppers upon beds. They lay with the upper part of their body leaning on the left elbow, the lower part stretched at length, and a little raised, and the back had cushions under. The first lay at the head of the bed, and his feet stretched out at the back of him that sat next. The Talmudists express it in this manner: They were used to eat leaning on the left side with their feet to the ground, every one singly upon their distinct beds: but when there were two beds, he that was chief sat highest, and he that was second to him sat above him; the bed of him that sat second was by the bolster of him that was first. When there were three, the worthiest person lay in the middle, and the second lay above him, and the third below him: the third lay at the feet of him that was first. If he that sits chief would talk with him that is second to him, he raises himself and sits upright, for so long as he leans or lies down he cannot talk with him, because he that lies second lies behind the head of him that lies first, and the face of him that lies first is turned from him; so that it were better for the second to sit below him, because then he may hear his words when he sits leaning: not but that sitting was in use, but with this difference, says the tradition, if they sat, every one said grace for himself, but if they lay along, one said grace for them all.

Gloss. in Beracoth. fol. 46.

They used washings and purifications before they eat; their hands they washed by plunging them into the water to the joining of the arm, and their feet were washed by their servants, (which their wives likewise were obliged to do,) lest their couches should

be made dirty, and to prevent offensive smells, but not under any notion of a legal cleansing. They observed great decency at their meals, and it was downright impiety not to discourse about their law and upon religious subjects while they were eating. The old Hebrews began their meals with this benediction at the cup, always performed by the master of the family, "Blessed be the Lord our God, king "of the world, who has created the fruit of the "vine;" and then the cup was put about the table: then followed the blessing of the bread, which he held out in his hand, saying, "Blessed be the Lord "our God, King of the world, who has produced "bread out of the earth." It was an established rule, that none of the company should touch any thing till he who broke the bread tastes it first. To give thanks after a meal is a Levitical injunction, and, say they, an affirmative precept; but there is no form delivered in the law, though many and various are to be found in the books of the Italian and German Jews. By the feast made by Samuel for Saul and the people, it appears, that anciently the masters of the feast distributed to every one their portion, or ordered what should be set before them.

CHAP. XXI.

Leidekker de Rep. Heb lib. xii. c. 7.

Deut. viii. 10.

1 Sam. ix. 23.

The Jews were very magnificent and even expensive in their feasts and public entertainments, which they had frequently; as upon their birthdays, the weaning of their children, the inauguration of their chief priests, and other extraordinary occasions. It was usual to pour ointment upon the head of their guests as a perfume, and to burn incense for their refreshment and delight; they were attended by servants, who waited at the table with their garments girt close to make them the more active and

BOOK VI. expeditious. The guests always came dressed in their best attire, and diverted themselves at table with pleasant and delightful stories: though they never admitted heathens to eat with them, yet they relieved strangers from their tables with great hospitality; nor was the poor forgotten, for it was common with them to send messes abroad to neighbours that were in want. All was gaiety and mirth; and to complete the festivity, they had the entertainment of music, which played continually before them. Drunkenness and intemperance soon grew common at their feasts, for which reason the prophet denounced, *Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning to follow strong drink, that continue until night till wine inflame them, and the harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe and wine are in their feasts.*

Nehem. viii. 12.

Isa. v. 11, 12.

John ii. 8. Learned men are not agreed whether there was any such officer among the Jews as a *symposiarchus*, or governor of the feast: it is certain there was such a one among the Greeks and Romans, whose character is drawn by Plutarch; but whether the guest that presided at the marriage feast in Cana was in the same post is difficult to decide: he was, says our author, one chosen among the guests, the most pleasant and diverting person in the company, that would not be drunk, and yet would drink freely: he was to rule over the rest, to forbid any disorder, but to encourage their mirth. He observed the temper of the guests, and how the wine worked upon them; how every one could bear his wine, and accordingly to apply, to keep them all in harmony and in an even composure, that there might be no disquiet nor disturbance. Effectually to do

In Sympos. Quæst. 4.

this, he first proclaimed liberty to every one to drink what he thought proper, and then observing who among them was most ready to be disordered, mixed more water with his wine, to keep him in an equal pace of sobriety with the rest; so that this officer took care that none should be forced to drink, and that none should be drunk though unforced. Now had Plutarch's *symposiarchus* been at this wedding, he would in all probability have known what quantity of wine, and what variety, there was in the house. He would have well known (they are the very words of Dr. Lightfoot) that the wine was gone, and that they were at a loss for more; for the yeomanry of the wine was his office at that time above all other things, and above all other men; but this *architriclinius* knew none of these things; but thought the bridegroom had used a friendly deceit to reserve the best wine to make up their mouths, whereas others used to reserve the worst; and he speaks as a guest, and not as a yeoman of the feast; and our Saviour sends the wine to him as to the chiefest man at the table, and as the fittest from whom the taste of the wine, and the taste of the miracle wrought, might be distributed throughout all the company of the feast.

CHAP. XXI.

Works in fol. vol. i. p. 547.

CHAP. XXII.

The matter and fashion of their garments.

THE first clothes of mankind were of the leaves of trees, which they made themselves, being ready at hand, woven by divine art. The next were of the skins of beasts, which were much warmer, and

BOOK VI. better able to defend them from the injury of cold weather, and these were made by God's direction: he entered into covenant with our first parents, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he signified that they should, for the confirmation of it, offer sacrifices to him; by the blood of which, covenants were ratified in after-times by this example, and with the skins of these he ordered their clothes to be made; for it is not probable that the beasts of whose skins these coats were made died of themselves, or that they were killed merely for this use, or for their food. But whether this was done by dressing these skins and making leather of them, or only by drying them and letting the hair still continue on them, it is impossible to know. Certain it is that there was a very ancient sort of clothing, as we
Heb. xi. 37. learn not only by profane authors, but from the sacred; the Jewish doctors have carried this matter so far as to say, that Adam being a priest, these were his priestly garments. The skin indeed of the burnt offering, under the law, is given to the priest, but not to make him clothes; and Eve, if this were true, must have been a priest also, for she had a coat made of skins no less than Adam, who, they fancy, left this coat to his posterity; so that Noah, Abraham, and all the rest of the patriarchs, (as Abel they say did,) sacrificed in the very same coat, till Aaron was made high priest, and had special garments appointed him by God. But these are conceits too insignificant to carry any weight.

Weems's Christ. Synagogue, parag. 13. A learned writer of the Scotch nation, speaking of the apparel of the Hebrews, has this remark: that when they were in Egypt, their clothes were long, reaching to their feet; therefore when they

went out of that country, they were commanded to gird up their loins. When they travelled in the wilderness, their clothes reached to their midleg; therefore priests, when they went up upon the altar, are ordered to put linen breeches upon them, lest their nakedness should be seen; because their clothes then were short and fit for travelling: when they came to Canaan, their clothes reached to their feet again. It is certain that long habits were commonly worn by the people of those eastern countries; and the law of Moses gives reason to assert, that the Hebrews had usually four skirts; for the precept is, that they should make the fringes upon the four quarters of their vesture. It is probable they sometimes had more or fewer than four; and in this case if they had but three, their doctors have resolved, that they were not bound to make any fringes for them; but if they had five or six, they were bound to annex them to the four most remote quarters, in which the intermediate were included; but this is an unreasonable subtilty, the intention of the law being to put them in mind of the divine commands by these fringes, which therefore were to be worn in the skirts of their garments, though they had been divided into no wings or quarters at all. These fringes were sewed to the uppermost garment which covers the rest, whereby they were distinguished from the people of other nations; for that was one end of them, to be a distinctive mark that they were of the Jewish religion; and therefore there seems to be no reason in the determination of their doctors, who say, women servants and little children were not obliged to wear fringes; for though small children could not think of the divine precepts, yet it was

CHAP. XXII.

Deut. xxii. 12.

BOOK VI. fit they should wear the note of their religion. There is no foundation neither for resolving that if women and servants (who were not bound so much as others to obey the laws) would wear fringes, though they were not obliged by their constitutions, yet they might not put them on with the common form of benediction which they used, "Blessed be thou, O "God, who hast sanctified us by thy precepts, and "hast commanded that we should wear fringes." But I think they observe justly enough, that these fringes were so peculiar to the Jews, that the Samaritans, though acquainted with the law, did not wear them. Nor do the Jews themselves at this day use them upon their upper garment, for that being no longer four-cornered, (because they were laughed at by other nations,) they wear only under their other garments a kind of square frocks with the foresaid tassels or pendants hanging to it only in their synagogues or schools; at morning prayer, every man puts over his head a square woollen garment with the tassels fastened at each corner, which they call the *talith*.

Leusden Philolog. Hebræ, Dissert. 17.

These fringes, so often mentioned, were appointed as a perpetual mark of their religion, and seem to be no more than threads left at the end of the web unwoven, at the top of which they put a lace of blue, or rather purple colour, which bound the fringe fast at the top, and is so difficult to be dyed at present, that the Jews at this day are contented to wear white. This riband, being of a distinct colour from the fringe, which was of the same with the garment, not only distinguished them sufficiently from all other people, but when they looked down upon the fringe and lace, they were put in mind of the duty

Numb. xv. 38.

they owed to God, and that they were a holy nation, obliged to the observance of particular laws. Such among them as pretended to greater sanctity than others enlarged their fringes, and extended them to a greater length, so that they swept the ground, which made them the more observable; and their superstition at last was so advanced, that with great subtlety they contrived so to work these fringes, as to denote the six hundred and thirty precepts contained in the law of Moses, that so they might be put in mind of all the commandments of the Lord. The present Jews wear a long tassel at each corner, consisting of eight white woollen threads, knotted with five knots like small buttons, and open and untwisted at the ends. CHAP. XXII. Matth. xxiii. 5.

There is a command among the injunctions of Moses, that the Hebrews should bind the words of the law *for a sign upon their hands, and they should be as frontlets between their eyes*, which, without doubt, signifies no more than that they should be always meditating upon their holy rites, and the principles of their religion; yet the superstitions of the Jews have grounded upon these words the wearing of phylacteries, and the tying of parchments upon their wrists, in which they placed the principal part of their devotion. Something has been said upon this subject in a former part of this work; in this place it may be observed, that they are called *tephilim*, or *instruments of prayer*, because they use them in their devotions; they are described thus: They write upon two pieces of parchment, with ink made on purpose, and in square letters, with a great deal of exactness, four passages of the law upon each piece. These two parchments are wound up toge- Deut. vi. 8. Vol. i. b. 2. chap. 20.

BOOK VI. ther in the fashion of a pointed roll, and included in a black calf's skin; then they put it upon a square and hard piece of the same skin, from which hangs a strop of the same leather, an inch broad and a cubit and a half long, or thereabouts. They place these *tephilims* at the bending of the left arm; and the strop, being first formed into a little knot like a *jod*, is turned about the arm in a spiral line, and terminates at the end of the little finger. This they call the *teffila of the hand.* As for the other, they write the same four passages upon four several pieces of vellum, which by fastening together they make a square of, upon which they write the letter *schin*; then they put upon it a little square piece of calf's leather as hard as the other, from whence come two strops, in figure and length like the first. This square is placed in the middle of the forehead, and the strops going round the head make a kind of knot behind in the form of the letter *daleth*, from whence they meet upon the stomach; and this they call the *teffila of the head.* This is the figure of the *tephilim*, which they commonly join with the *talith* in the morning devotions: some also use them in the afternoon; but this is only done by eminent votaries, and persons of peculiar sanctity.

Bartol. Bibl. Rab. t. i. p. 558.

The old superstition for these phylacteries has considerably increased; the Jews swear by touching them, and the better to authorize such oaths, they introduce God swearing by them likewise. Many are the niceties in the method of making them: the parchment must be taken from the skin of a clean beast, and it becomes impure and profane if a Christian dresses it; but it receives a degree of excellence when it has been destined to this use; and

it was said in preparing it, "I design this for the "making of tephilims." The skin must be prepared with great art, for the least hole or defect makes it useless. These *tephilims* they write slowly, and with great circumspection, that there may not be the least thing wanting to each letter, and particularly to those that compose the name of God. They first fasten the *tephilim* at the hand, and afterwards that of the head, for fear they should mistake; the strops serving to this use must be good; they must not mend nor repair them when they are worn and broken. They cannot fasten them till they have pronounced the blessing, "Blessed be thou, our "Lord and our God, king of the earth;" after which it was not lawful to speak to anybody: when they take them off, they put them into a bag, which thereby becomes sacred, and cannot be employed to profane uses. They ought not to be put on in the night, but in the day, excepting the sabbath, because the sabbath is called *a sign*, and serves for a phylactery. Women and slaves are not obliged to wear them. It is not lawful to take them till a man has covered his nakedness, nor to wear them in churchyards, nor to carry a burden on their heads; and especially it is a great crime to commit then the least indecency. So many are the scruples of the Jews upon this occasion, that to mention all of them would be of small use, and not worth the trouble of collecting together.

There are two restraints in the Levitical law concerning apparel; the one, that they were forbidden to wear a garment of woollen and linen; and this the Jews carried so far as not to sew a woollen garment with linen thread, nor on the contrary. This

Deut. xxii. 11. Lev. xix. 19. De Vestit. Sacerdot. Heb. c. 4. n. 2, 3, 6.

BOOK VI. law, as Braunius observes, does not import the weaving of many different things together, but only of linen and woollen; and that by woollen is to be understood only what is made of the wool of sheep, not of camels or goats, which they called by the same name. If a man saw an Israelite wear such a garment, it was lawful for him to fall upon him openly, and tear him in pieces, although he were his master that taught him wisdom. And the reasons for this abhorrence are commonly such as are given for many other precepts, to preserve them from the horrid confusion which was among the Gentiles by incestuous and unnatural mixtures. But Maimonides takes it to have been principally intended as a preservative against idolatry; the priests of the Gentiles in those times wearing such mixed garments of the product of plants and animals, with a ring on their finger, made of some metal, as he says he found in their books. By which mixture it is supposed they hoped to have the beneficial influence of some lucky conjunction of the planets or stars, to derive a blessing upon their sheep and their flax.

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 39.

Deut. xxii. 5. The Hebrews were prohibited to confound the sexes of man and woman by one's wearing the garments of the other. This practice is said to be an abomination to the Lord, which plainly indicates that an idolatrous custom was here forbidden; for Moses and the prophets are used to speak in these terms of utmost abhorrence concerning such matters.

Selden, c. 4. de Dis Syris. Syntag. 2. c. 4. And indeed nothing was more common among the heathen, than for men, in the worship of several of their gods, to put on the garments worn by women, and women those used by men: particularly in the worship of Venus, women appeared before her in

armour, and men in women's apparel; and thus the words literally run in the Hebrew, *Women shall not put on the armour of a man, nor a man the stole of a woman;* and thus Maimonides says he found this precept in an old magical book, that men ought to stand before the star of Venus in the flowered garment of women, and women put on the armour of men before the star of Mars. But whatever force may be in these observations, it is certain, that if there were no distinction of sexes made by their habits, it would inevitably open the way to all manner of licentiousness and impurity. CHAP. XXII. More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 37.

The matter of which the vestments of the Hebrews were made was of many kinds. The art of spinning and weaving was found in the most early ages. The wool of sheep was used principally, and for coarser purposes, especially for sackcloth in time of distress and mourning, they wrought the hair of goats, camels, and horses. The white goat's hair was the most valuable; and therefore the sackcloth was made of black, which is the reason why the scripture says of the sky, when very cloudy, that it is covered with sackcloth and blackness. Persons of distinction wore fine linen of Egypt, and silk, rich cloth shaded with the choicest colours, (or as the Vulgate calls it,) with feathered work, embroidered with gold. Isa. l. 3. Exod. xli. 42.

The colour of their apparel, especially for those of the lowest rank, was usually white, being the native colour of wool, and most suited to the nature of their laws, which enjoined so many washings and purifications; not but that white was in esteem among persons of superior degree, and is highly valued in scripture as the emblem of victory, purity, Eccles. ix. 8. Rev. iii. 5.

BOOK VI. cheerfulness, knowledge, grace, and glory. Black was the general wearing of mourners. The vest-
2 Kings xxiii. 5. ments of Baal's priests were of this colour; and was a habit peculiar to themselves, which in opposition to them, I suppose, few others would wear. Blue was a celestial or sky colour, highly praised by the Jews, who anciently had, as their rabbins say, the exact skill of dying it to the height, which since they have lost. Yet I find no Jewish apparel wholly made of this colour, which perhaps they abstained from as a colour sacred and mysterious, than which none was more used about the tabernacle and the temple, in the curtains, veils, and vestments belonging to them. The Babylonians much delighted in this magisterial colour, and so did the Persians, as may appear by Mordecai, who when advanced was clothed in blue among many other royal accoutre-
2 Sam. i. 24. ments. The principal Jews in their robes of state, and upon great solemnities, used scarlet, not dyed, as at present, with madder or with cochineal, or with the powder in grain called alkermes, all inventions of a late date, but with a shrub whose red berries or grains gave an orient tincture to the cloth. Crimson (this colour was made of the blood of a worm which is found in the fruit of a tree, and from thence it has the name of vermilion) was made use of in the temple of Solomon, and by men of the first quality, and sometimes they wore purple, the most sublime of all earthly colours, having the gaudiness of red, (of which it retains a cast,) abated with the gravity of blue; this was chiefly dyed at Tyre, and took the tincture from the liquor of a shell-fish, formerly found in the adjacent sea, but utterly lost and unknown at this day.

CHAP. XXII.

The Jews did not affect novelty and variety of fashions in the make of their garments, which retained the same form for many ages; and indeed their clothes being for the most part loose vestments not exactly fitted to their bodies, but only cast over, wrapped about or girt close, the less curiosity was required in the making: and therefore it is, that we find the clothes of the Philistines fitting Samson's friends, and Jonathan's robe given to David serving him without any considerable difference; and because the trade of a tailor is no where recorded in scripture, (though frequent mention be made of weavers and fullers,) it seems anciently to have been no distinct occupation, but probably the men or their wives made their own clothes; for the state and gallantry of the Jews consisted not in the variety of fashions, but in the many changes, the orient colours, the costly matter, and the curious embroidery of their garments.

Judg. xiv. 19. 1 Sam. xviii. 4.

The ancient Jews usually went bareheaded, except when they were in mourning, or in the temple, or in the synagogues; they thought this manner of praying covered shewed more respect for the majesty of God, as testifying that they thought themselves unworthy to look up in his presence. To guard themselves from the wind and the weather, they wrapped their heads in their mantles or upper garments. We find the *three children* cast into the fiery furnace with their hats on; but these, it is supposed, they did not wear as they were Jews, but in compliance with the custom of the Babylonians: for many ages afterwards we find Antiochus Epiphanes introducing the habits and fashions of the Grecians among the Jews, and, as the Maccabean history re-

BOOK VI. lates, he brought the chief young men under his subjection, *and made them wear a hat.* In both the Talmuds there are reckoned up eighteen several garments with which the Jew is clothed from head to foot, but those which are more properly called garments, and are put upon the body, were these: a
Schabb. fol. 118. 2. woollen shirt was worn next the skin, though some had shirts of linen in which they lay, as most clean and wholesome for the purpose. Next to this was their coat, or talith, which reached to their feet, and was accounted modest and honourable among them, which made the indignity the greater that was of-
2 Sam. x. 4. fered by the king of Ammon to David's ambassadors, cutting off their garments in the middle even to their buttocks, which made their nakedness to be seen, for they wore no breeches in those times. To prevent the dangling down and daggling of so long garments, the Jews used when they were sent on business, when they took a journey, when they did any office in the house, or when they eat the passover, to gird up their clothes about them; and hence in the scripture phrase a girdle signifies *strength, readiness,* and *activity,* and in it they carried their
Job xxx. 18. money. These coats were collared at the neck, and fringed at the bottom. Over this they had a mantle or cloak cast over them when they went abroad, and this the poorer sort used for a blanket or coverlid when they laid down to sleep. And therefore God by special command provided, that though men might pawn their upper clothes, (as not absolutely necessary for wearing all the daytime,) yet at night such a pledge was no longer to be detained, because
Exod. xxii. 26, 27. it was *the raiment for their skin wherein they slept.*

Their legs were generally bare, though some of them, it is said, wore a sort of buskins that were laced about the small and reached up to the calf of the leg. Upon their feet they wore sandals, which were like those of the Capuchins abroad; they had soles but no upper leathers, except the strings by which they were fastened over the instep and cross of the foot, and from hence came the frequent washings and anointing of their feet in the eastern parts, not only to cool them but to sweeten, and chiefly to clear them from the gravel which the openings of the sandals had let in: when they would take them off, the straps must be untied, which it was the proper business of their servants to do: they were made at first out of raw hides, but afterwards of dressed leather; and it is a conceit of a very learned man who has written upon this subject, that the tanners among the Jews were obliged to live without the walls of the city, because by handling part of the bodies of dead cattle they were subject to very frequent pollutions. Badgers' skins were esteemed the finest leather, as appeared by Ezekiel, who, numbering the many blessings bestowed upon the Jews by Divine providence, gives this account; that God clothed them with broidered work, and shod them with badgers' skins.

CHAP. XXII.

Bynæus de Calceis Hebr. lib. i. c. 2.

Shoes were in use among the Jews as well as sandals; but that they were hollow, and covered the foot all over, is difficult to prove. The difference between them is thus stated by the Talmudists. Shoes were of more delicate use, sandals were more ordinary, and fitter for service; a shoe was of softer leather, a sandal of harder: there were sandals also whose sole or lower part was of wood, the upper

Joma. fol. 78.

BOOK VI. of leather; and these were fastened together by nails. There were some sandals also made of rushes, or of the bark of palm-trees, and they were all open both ways, so that one might put in his foot either before or behind. Those of a violet or purple colour were the most valued, and worn by young ladies and persons of the first quality and distinction.

Though the shape be uncertain, yet the use of shoes is to be found in the most early ages; for we read of Abraham protesting to the king of Sodom after his victory over the kings, that he would *take nothing from a thread even to a shoelatchet;* and in those times so sacred were places that were made holy by the divine presence, that it was irreverend to enter upon them with their shoes on, because they might be defiled with dirt that stuck upon them. It is certain that in the temple, many ages afterwards, the priests officiated barefoot, and all the eastern people came into their holy places after the same manner, which Justin Martyr thinks they learned from the example of Moses before the burning bush; but Mr. Mede's opinion seems the truer, that Moses did not give the first beginning to this rite, but it was derived from the patriarchs before him, and transmitted to future times, from that ancient general tradition; for we find no command in the law of Moses for the priests performing the service of the tabernacle without shoes, but it is certain they did so from immemorial custom, and so do the Mahometans and other nations at this day. "It is the opinion of the learned Bochart, that the Israelites used no shoes in Egypt, but being to take a long journey through a rough way in the

Gen. xiv. 23.

Book ii.

Hierozoic. p. i. lib. xi. c. 50.

wilderness, God commanded them to eat the pass- CHAP. XXII.
over with shoes on their feet; and these very shoes, which they put on at that festival when they were ready to march, he suffered not to decay in all their travels for forty years following: and to increase the miracle, the great Grotius falls in with the idle conceits of some Jewish writers, by asserting, that their clothes enlarged as they grew bigger from children to men, and so did their shoes also: but there was no need of this, for the clothes and shoes of those that died might serve their children when they grew up; and it was sufficiently amazing, without such additions, that their clothes should not so much as decay, nor their shoes wear, nor their feet swell, by travelling over hot and stony places for forty years. Such in general was the habit of the Jews; yet it might be supposed that besides the priests and Levites, all vocations of people, as husbandmen, tradesmen, citizens, merchants, doctors, judges, were distinguished by their several apparel, which at this distance of time it is impossible to describe.

Annot. in Deut. viii. 4.

The habit of women was likewise suited to their quality, and the same fashion of apparel seems to belong to maidens, wives, and widows, only that a wife wore a veil upon her head in token of subjection, and a widow had a garment as a sign of her widowhood. Persons of distinction, as princesses of the blood royal, and others of the first quality that were virgins, had a particular vestment of many colours, which is supposed to reach down to the heels, or ankles, with long sleeves down to the wrists, which had a border at the bottom and a facing (as we speak) at the hands of another colour different from the garment; it was likewise embroidered with

2 Sam. xiii. 18.

BOOK VI. flowers, which was accounted noble as well as beautiful in ancient times. Before the Babylonish captivity, the Jewish women arrived at the utmost excess of pride and extravagancy in their apparel. Isaiah iii. 18, &c. The prophet Isaiah gives a long list of trinkets which they used in dressing them in his days. He speaks of their tinkling ornaments, of small bells at their heels, cauls, round tires like the moon, chains, bracelets, mufflers, bonnets, ornaments about the leg, headbands; tablets, earrings, rings, nose-jewels, that hung down between the eyebrows and the nose, changeable suits, mantles, wimples, crisping-pins, glasses, fine linen, hoods and veils. These were some of the fashionable vanities of those loose ages, which particularly to describe would be as difficult as to explain the kind of garments used in England five hundred year ago, mentioned in Camden's Re- Page 196. mains, such as herlots, paltocks, gits, haketeres, tabards, courtepies, chevesailes, and gipsers. Common prostitutes were known among the Jews by the pe- Prov. vii. 10. culiar habit they wore; particularly, they had no- 2 Kings, ix. 30. thing upon their heads, and painted their eyebrows with stibium, which dilated the hair, and made the eyes look black and beautiful.

CHAP. XXIII.

Rites of marriage among the Hebrew patriarchs.

THE origin and institution of marriage is deduced from the history of the creation, and is founded upon that general command to man and woman, *Increase and multiply*. This precept, as the Jews conceive, is obligatory upon all males above twenty years of

age, except such as were unfit for procreation, or such as mortify themselves by a continual and an excessive application to the study of the law. They say further, that women are not under such strict obligations of fulfilling this command, which opinion is founded upon the rules of modesty, received among most nations, which confine women from making their addresses to men; and therefore their obedience to this injunction is not absolutely in their own choice. All males, say the rabbins, are bound to promote the propagation of their own kind as long as they are capable of making use of a woman. Though a man, says Maimonides, has paid obedience to the command which enjoins the multiplication of the human kind, by begetting children pursuant to the doctrine of our sages, yet he ought not to desist from using the means of procreation so long as he is able to perform it; for he who adds a soul to Israel edifies the world. It is also ordained in the law by the same wise men, that no man should keep a family without a woman, lest he should be troubled with incontinency, and that a woman should not live without a husband, lest her virtue should be suspected, and she exposed to the importunities and solicitations of men. It is beyond all dispute that the Jews made great account of marriage, and their books are filled with the praises of it. For instance, they say that a woman is imperfect without a husband, and that even a man without a wife is no man; that God calls them *Adam*, that is, *man;* and that he who neglects the multiplication of the human race is no better than a manslayer. In those early times both sexes thought themselves obliged to endeavour the propagation of the species; volun-

CHAP. XXIII.

Halakai. chot. c. 15.

BOOK VI. tary sterility was absolutely condemned, and even involuntary barrenness was opprobrious.

Talmud. Tract. Nischim. Celibacy was of so ill repute among the Hebrews, that it was thought no immodesty in the virgins of that nation to dance in the vineyards upon the day of expiation, and declare publicly, "O young men, "lift up your eyes and see which of us you like "best. Look not upon beauty, for that is deceitful, "nor upon riches, for they make themselves wings "and fly away; but approve of such among us as "fear God." The first marriage was always esteemed the most happy, it being a common maxim, "that a man finds no refreshment for his soul, but "from his first wife."

The rights and duties of marriage are supposed to be expressed by Adam, after he awakened, full Gen. ii. 24. of the spirit of prophecy, in these words, *Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife: and they shall be one flesh.* In this command is forbidden all manner of fornication; for he that enjoins that every one shall have his own wife, and that he shall adhere to her, does at the same time forbid his commerce with the wife of another man. It is also evident, that polygamy is contrary to this declaration of Adam; for (as Jonathan observes in his paraphrase) he does not say, *you shall cleave to two wives, but only to one;* and what is further said, that *man and wife shall be one flesh,* plainly evinces that the plurality of wives is not according to divine institution; for it appears monstrous to be one flesh with two different persons. Furthermore, these words of Adam are directly levelled against divorce; for when he says they shall be one flesh, he fully expresses that the divorcing of

man and wife is contrary to the very end of marriage; and a violence offered to nature by separating what is one flesh. CHAP. XXIII.

The marriage contracts among the patriarchs were performed, if we believe Maimonides, with little ceremony. Before the promulgation of the law, says he, if a man happened to meet a woman, either in the street, or upon the road, and he liked her, he had no more to do than to carry her with mutual approbation to his house, and to go to bed to her, and so she became his wife. This is the general sentiment of the Jews; so that in those early days two things were required only to make a marriage, the consent of both parties, and a consummation. By the mutual consent is not to be understood the simple consent of going to bed together, but of being and living together as man and wife, and of fulfilling all the duties belonging to this cohabitation. The opinion of the rabbi above mentioned is not to be understood according to the letter, as if a man meeting a woman might carry her to his house without any further ceremony, but a certain decorum was observed; the parents were consulted if the woman was under tuition, and their consents obtained; and then the damsel was asked, if she agreed to the proposals. The contract was made in the house of the father, before the elders and governors of the place, and the consummation fulfilled in that of the husband. The bride was veiled, and conducted without light into a chamber designed for that purpose, and the bridegroom admitted: but before the consummation, it was the custom after the espousals for the maid to stay some time with her parents, for the sake of decency, at least ten months, say the Jews, that she Halakai. chot. c. 1. Gen. xxiv. 55.

BOOK VI. might sufficiently prepare and provide herself with nuptial ornaments. The wedding was celebrated with a feast of seven days; for the septenarian number was supposed to give the ultimate perfection to every thing, which those who lived before the law observed in their festivals, especially at their marriage feasts, to render them the more fortunate. Before the spouse was carried to her husband, there was a solemn benediction given by some principal relation, founded upon the example of Rebekah's brothers who blessed her at her departure, *Be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those that hate thee.*

Gen. xxiv. 60.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of fornication, adultery, polygamy, concubinage, divorce: of levirate, or marrying the brother's wife.

SUCH was the simplicity of the connubial rites among the patriarchs before the delivery of the law; but there are some singularities relating to these ancient marriages that seem directly opposite to the laws of God, and therefore require to be considered in this place, such as fornication, adultery, conversation within the forbidden degrees, polygamy, divorce, and the privilege of espousing the widow of the eldest brother, if he died without issue, called *the law of levirate.*

The subject of simple fornication is attended with no small difficulty; for from the history of Thamar and Judah it has been collected, that this act was not criminal in the most ancient times. For, say the advocates of this opinion, Judah was a great

Gen. xxxviii. 2, 3, &c.

patriarch and a person well advanced in years, and therefore would not have condescended to so low an act, if, besides the meanness of it, it had also been a crime. It is certain that the Jews have founded upon this history their notion (so generally received among them) that before the Mosaic law simple fornication was not forbidden. If you happened to meet, says a learned rabbi, a woman upon the road, or in any other public place, you might lie with her if you could obtain her consent; and after you had paid her the money agreed for, you were free from her; such a woman was called *kedecha.* But after the promulgation of the law, these kind of women were not allowed of, as it is said in the law, *There shall not be a harlot in Israel.* From the history (says he again) of Thamar and Judah it is evident, that before the law it was no crime to be with a prostitute as with one's own wife, there being no obligation laid upon anybody to avoid it. The money or reward bestowed upon the harlot was in the nature of the dowry given to a woman upon a divorce; it was a kind of a tax payable to a woman by the person who had enjoyed her; but this liberty and indulgence is supposed to savour of impurity and falsehood, the act of fornication being directly opposite to the laws of marriage in its first institution. It is evident likewise by the story of Dinah, that prostitutes were infamous in those days, and therefore to converse with them must be criminal; besides, if simple fornication had not been forbidden, and if the reward promised to the prostitute was not illegal, it is hard to conceive why Judah should have made such a secret of the matter; and if the act had not been opprobrious and a crime, the patriarch had

CHAP. XXIV.

More Nevoch. p. 3.

Gen. xxxiv. 31.

BOOK VI. no reason to be so careful to conceal it. Indeed simple fornication was not then subject to any penalties either civil or ecclesiastical; because, says Maimonides, of the contract which passed between the persons concerned; but such wicked practices are not to be justified by such examples: for it is certain, that every thing not punished by men was not allowed by God.

Adultery was always looked upon as criminal, even in the first ages of the world; the history of Thamar plainly evinces it to have been capital; Judah understanding that Thamar was big with child, and supposing her guilty of adultery, said, *Bring her forth into the place of judgment*, and upon conviction, *let her be burnt* after her delivery. Indeed some of the Jewish doctors are of opinion, that the words signify no more than that she should be branded with a hot iron in the forehead, a mark commonly given to distinguish harlots from other women: but it seems most probable that she was to have been condemned to die. Stoning, in the time of the gospel, seems to have been the punishment for adulterers; but it has been supposed that Thamar was a priest's daughter; and such a one guilty of fornication or adultery was sentenced by the Mosaic law to be burnt alive. It is certain that Thamar could not be considered as a whore only, though she was a widow and had no husband, because she was contracted to Shelah the third son of Judah: besides, if a woman became a widow by the death of her husband, who had a brother that was capable to raise seed to his deceased brother, she was looked upon as contracted to him; for the brother being obliged to take her, it was understood to be one con-

tinued marriage. Otherwise had Thamar been considered barely as a widow, she could have been accused of no more than simple fornication, and therefore could not be liable to the punishment of adultery. CHAP. XXIV.

It will be more difficult to discover the sentiments the Hebrews had concerning a man who defiled his own bed by lying with an unmarried woman: concerning women that were married, it is certain, that the persons who debauched them were looked upon as ravishers, and punished as criminals; but the inquiry is about a man's lying with a woman that was under no engagement. Some are of opinion, that for a man to have full commerce with an unmarried woman was allowable before the law. This is the judgment of St. Ambrose, founded upon the history of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar. "Some," says he, "will perhaps object, how is Abraham set "up for an example, who begat a child upon his "maid? or could it happen that so great a man "should fall into so great an error? It is to be ob- "served that Abraham lived before the law and the "gospel, at a time when adultery was not forbidden "as yet; it could not be considered as a crime till "it was forbidden by the law, no action being pun- "ishable till it is declared such by the law: Abra- "ham therefore did not transgress the law, be- "cause he lived before the law; for though God "highly recommended marriage in paradise, he did "not condemn adultery." But this notion contains several errors both in point of reason and matter of fact; Hagar ought not to be considered as a harlot, but as a secondary wife, (a liberty that was legal in those days,) who was not to be mistress of the house, Lib. i. de Abrah. c. 4.

BOOK VI. but only to bear children for the increase of the family; and such children were in some sort esteemed legitimate, bearing the name of the father's family, and having some share in the inheritance; so that Abraham did not commit adultery, but only made use of the privilege of the age when polygamy was allowable; and the same may be justly said of a married man's having close commerce with an unmarried woman, as was asserted before of simple fornication; it was opprobrious, and reputed criminal, but not subject to any civil punishments.

In the first ages of the world it is certain that brothers married their sisters, uncles their nieces, and fathers-in-law their daughters-in-law; nay, fathers might even marry their own daughters; and if we believe the Jews, every thing of that kind was allowable at that time, except lying with one's own mother, with one's father's wife, with another man's wife, or mankind with beasts: they say further, though they were not allowed to lie with their sister of the same womb, that is, the sister by the mother's side, they might espouse a sister the daughter of their father; so that according to their sentiments, God added fifteen forbidden degrees of marriage unto those which were reputed as such in the preceding ages: these are, the commerce of a man with his wife's daughter, with his mother-in-law, with the mother of his mother-in-law, with the mother of his father-in-law, with his own daughter, with his granddaughter by his daughter's side, with his granddaughter by his son's side, with the granddaughter of his wife by the daughter's side, with his wife's daughter by the son's side, with his sister by the father's side, with his father's sister, with his

mother's sister, with his wife's sister, with his father's wife, with his uncle's wife: all these degrees allowed of in the patriarchal times were forbidden by the Mosaic law; and these marriages of the first ages of the world have been the true cause why the people of the East have proved less scrupulous in regard to these incestuous copulations than those of the western parts, nothing being more frequent in the East, than marriages between brothers and sisters; whereas it is very uncommon to discover any such practice among the western nations. CHAP. XXIV.

The plurality of wives, called otherwise *polygamy*, furnishes us with another piece of singularity in the marriages of the patriarchs. Lamech, of the race of Cain, was in all probability the first who transgressed the original institution by having more wives than one, and after him this custom became very common before the deluge, but the practice, it is supposed, was more frequent afterwards. Most of the patriarchs lived in a state of polygamy, Abraham had Hagar besides Sarah, and Jacob had no less than four wives, the daughters of Laban and their two maids. The Jews very strenuously contend for the legality of this practice, as agreeable to the law of nature; and look upon the Sadducees as heretical, because they assert polygamy to have been forbidden by Moses in these words; *Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her.* It is one of the maxims of their law, every one is allowed to marry as many women as he is able to maintain, (though four is the usual number.) A man is at liberty, say they, to have a hundred wives, either one after another, or at once, the first wife having no right to oppose it, provided the husband be in a capacity to

Gen. iv. 19.

Lev. xviii. 18.

BOOK VI. furnish them all with clothing, and other conjugal duties, every one in their turn. They add, that before and after the deluge it was a custom to have two wives, one for to beget children upon, and another for pleasure only, for which reason, they used to give this last a draught, which promoted sterility or hindered conception, to preserve her beauty; she used also to be richly attired, especially on their feast days, whilst the other was kept close within doors like a widow, in deep mourning. The Jewish writers are too partial upon this occasion, polygamy being contrary to the original law of marriage, which propounds that a man shall cleave to his wife. It is certain there is no express law against it, but there are not many instances of it among holy men before the deluge, though afterwards it got footing in the families of the patriarchs, yet at the same time some among them were more scrupulous upon that account than others. Job had but one wife, and Isaac none but Rebekah; neither do we read that any one of Jacob's children had more than one wife apiece. After the promulgation of the law, polygamy lost ground more and more; for, setting aside David and Solomon, and some few of their race, there are not many instances of it, especially among private persons. And this practice God seems to have connived at in the kings of Israel, because they should not be inferior in splendour to the other eastern kings their neighbours, whose greatest magnificence consisted in some measure in the vast number of their wives, which custom continues among them to this day.

The use of concubines was a kind of superadditional polygamy among the ancients, they being re-

garded as half wives: the difference between them and lawful wives, the Jews say, consists in this, that the marriages of the latter were preceded by certain matrimonial contracts and particular solemnities of nuptials, but nothing like this was observed in the taking of a concubine. Wives, say the Talmudists, are taken under a previous contract of a dowry, and attended with the usual nuptial ceremonies, but concubines without either of them. CHAP. XXIV. Gemora Talmud. Hierosol. Kidousch. c. 5.

Thus we may observe in the marriages of Jacob with the two daughters of Laban something of a ceremony, feasts, nuptials, and sacrifices, the festival continuing seven days: they used nothing like this in the taking of their concubines; they had no more to do than to take them, carry them to their places of abode, and to cohabit with them without any further ceremony: besides, it is supposed that a concubine, notwithstanding her free commerce with her master, remained in a state of servitude as she was before. Hagar, Sarah's maid, continued to be a slave though she was Abraham's concubine, as evidently appears from the treatment she received afterwards; and if we may credit the Jews, a free woman became a slave by concubinage. The children of the principal wife succeeded the father in his inheritance, but the children of the concubine were dismissed with legacies and gifts. Maimonides says, that private persons among the Jews were not allowed to have any concubines, unless it were an Israelite servant purchased from her father. If she was sold by her father, she thereby became a slave, at least so far as was consistent with the Jewish law in reference to the native Israelites, who could not be disposed of to perpetual slavery; their servi- T. Melakim. c. 4.

BOOK VI. tude being only the loss of liberty for a certain time. For the rest, the laws of concubinage were altogether the same with those of marriage, the man was obliged to entertain his concubine in his house, and she was bound to fidelity and obedience to him, as much as if she had been his lawful wife.

There is no instance, I think, of a divorce in the patriarchal times, unless that action of Abraham may be said to be such, when he dismissed Hagar his concubine and sent her away.

The Jews contend that divorces were allowed by the law of nature as well as polygamy, though they do not make it reciprocal, as if a woman could leave her husband as he might his wife. When will the
Tract. id. time come, says Maimonides, that a wife among the Noachides will be in the same condition with ours unto whom we give a letter of divorce? This will be when the husband turns her away and breaks the knot, or when she goes away and leaves her husband upon her own accord: for among them there is no giving a letter of divorce, nor does this matter fall with them under the cognizance of the judges, as it does with us; but they part according as husband and wife think it most convenient. It is a maxim among the Jews, the Noachides have neither any regular contracts nor divorces, but their marriages are either made or dissolved as both parties shall
Gen. xxxviii. 8. agree. Their meaning is, that as men in the ages of the ancient patriarchs did marry without any formalities, so they parted in the same manner.

The law of levirate was, if a man died without issue, leaving a widow behind him, the brother of
Deut. xxv. 5. the deceased was obliged to marry the widow of his brother, that so the eldest son born from this mar-

riage might retain his father's name, pass for his son, and inherit all his estate. This was an ancient custom in force before the law of Moses, and seems to be indispensable in those times, though the rigour of it was abated afterwards, the matter being in a manner left to the choice of the persons concerned. This ceremony will be particularly explained hereafter, when it comes to be considered as an established law: it is sufficient to observe in this place, that the marriage with the next brother was not attended with any new contract, but was understood to follow on course without any further agreement by virtue of the original law; and if the next brother was too young to consummate the marriage with the widow, it was deferred till he arrived at a proper maturity, and she remained during the interval clothed with her widow's garments in her father's house. CHAP. XXV.

CHAP. XXV.

The forbidden degrees of marriage by the Levitical law.

IN order to prevent incest, and abominable mixtures that were practised by the eastern nations, it pleased the Divine Lawgiver to set a fence about his own people, to guard them against such unnatural prostitutions, and to enforce his laws by capital penalties. The degrees of marriage that were expressly forbidden are these that follow:

Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father or thy mother. Nakedness in the holy language signifies the secret parts, which natural modesty teaches all civilized people to cover, and not to re- Lev. xviii. 7, 8, &c.

BOOK VI. veal them to any, but to those whom they marry; therefore, not to uncover the nakedness of the persons hereafter named is properly not to take them in marriage, and much less to have knowledge of them without. Both the father and mother are mentioned in this law, to shew that neither the daughter might marry her father, nor the son his mother; and consequently in all the following particulars, women are concerned in the same manner with men, though the men be only mentioned; and under the name of father and mother are comprehended grandfather or grandmother, or progenitors before them. Maimonides gives this as the general reason for prohibiting this and all the following marriages, because the persons concerned are in a manner such as used to live together in the same house, (for so fathers, mothers, children, brothers, and sisters do,) who might easily be tempted to lewdness, if even marrying together were not expressly forbidden.

Duct. Dubitant. b. ii. c. 2. ru. 3.

The nakedness of thy father's wife, that is, of a stepmother; for, as Dr. Taylor judiciously observes, she that is of one flesh with my father, is as near to me as my father, and that is as near as my own mother; as near, I mean, in the estimation of the law, though not in the account of nature: and therefore, though it be a crime of less turpitude, yet it is equally forbidden, and is against the law of nature, not directly, but by interpretation. The Jews say upon this occasion, that it was unlawful for the son to marry her, though she had been only espoused by his father; or if he had divorced her, it was not lawful for the son to have her, even after he was dead.

CHAP. XXV.

The nakedness of thy sister: as the nearness of flesh above a man is his mother, and below him is his daughter, so on the side of him is his sister. This law includes a sister begotten by his father of another wife, and one born of his mother by another husband, whether she be legitimately born in wedlock, or illegitimately out of it, as the Talmudist expounded it; for though the marriage of brother and sister was necessary in the beginning, when there was but one man and one woman, by whose children the world was peopled; yet when it was so, there was great reason that it should be made utterly unlawful. Now, says bishop Taylor, it is next to an unnatural mixture, it hath something of confusion in it, and blending the very first partings of nature, which makes it intolerably scandalous, and universally forbidden; for if it were not, the mischief would be horrible and infinite.

Of thy son's daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter. This law relates to a man's grandaughter, by his son or his daughter, whether legitimately or spuriously begotten: there is no mention made of a man's own daughter, because, say the Jews, there was no occasion for a man's grandchildren either by sons or daughters (which are more remote) being forbidden, there was no reason to observe that it was unlawful for him to marry his own daughter.

Of thy father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father. That is, of a sister by the same father, though not by the same mother. This prohibition was necessary, because, before the promulgation of the law, the sons of Noah thought it lawful to marry a half sister (as we speak) by the father's side, though not by the mother's.

BOOK VI. *Of thy father's sister*, whether legitimately or spuriously descended from his grandfather, (say the Hebrew doctors.) These marriages are supposed to be allowed before the law, for it is thought that Exod. vi. 20. Amram the father of Moses was married to Jochebed his aunt.

Of thy mother's sister. There is the same reason for this as for the former prohibition; the aunt by the mother's side being as near to a man, as his aunt by his father's.

Of thy father's brother. She was his aunt by affinity, and therefore as much forbidden as an aunt by consanguinity. This law includes the mother's brother's wife, though she be not mentioned.

Of thy daughter-in-law, thy son's wife, though she were only espoused to him; and therefore much more when solemnly married.

Of thy brother's wife. Unless he died childless, for in this case the brother was bound to marry her; much less might a man marry his brother's daughter, who was nearer to him, and of his own flesh.

Of a woman and her daughter. If a man married a widow that had a daughter, it was reckoned impious to marry that daughter, either while her mother lived, or after she was dead; the granddaughter of such a widow, either by her son or daughter, was forbidden, which the Vulgar Latin makes to be an incestuous conjunction.

Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister. There are many eminent writers, who, following our marginal translation, [one wife to another,] conceive that plurality of wives is expressly forbidden by this law; and so the Karaites interpret this place,

that a man having a wife should not take another while she lived; which, if it were true, would assist us to solve many difficulties; but there are such strong reasons against it, that I cannot think this to be the meaning: for as more wives than one were indulged before the law, so they were after. And Moses himself supposes as much, when he provides that a man should not prefer a child he had by a beloved wife before one by her whom he hated, if he was the eldest son. We find expressly, that the Hebrew kings might have many wives, though not a multitude; and the best of their princes, who read the divine law day and night, and could not but understand it, took many wives without any reproof; so far from that, that God gave him more wives than he had before, by delivering his master's wives to him. The meaning therefore is, that though two wives at a time, or more, were permitted in those days, yet no man should take two sisters (as Jacob had formerly done) begotten of the same father, or born of the same mother, whether legitimately or illegitimately; which though it may seem to have been prohibited before by consequence and analogy, (because the marriage of a brother's wife is forbidden,) yet in this place it is more expressly prohibited, as other marriages are.

Deut. xvii. 17.

2 Sam. xii. 8.

To vex her in her lifetime. There used to be great jealousies and emulations between wives, (some being more beloved than others, and also superior to them,) which between two sisters would have been more intolerable than between two other women; who, (as Cunæus remarks,) not being of the same consanguinity as sisters are, might live with more equal and quiet minds under the same

De Rep. Heb. lib. ii. c. 23.

BOOK VI. husband. The Vulgar Latin understands this, as if Moses forbad them to make one sister their wife, and the other their concubine; which could not but occasion the greatest disturbances. Besides, no one would afterwards marry either of the sisters being widows, because they were defiled by such an incestuous conjunction, for which the husband by the law might be cut off.

These were the boundaries expressly fixed by God, as a guard against those abhorred mixtures and impurities, for which the seven nations of Canaan were destroyed. They obliged all proselytes who embraced their religion, as well as the Hebrews, and were established under the sanction of severe penalties. If a man lay with his father's wife, or with his daughter-in-law, or with his wife and her mother, or with his sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter, or with his mother's sister, or father's sister, they were both to be put to death: the kind of death is expressed but in one place, and that is, when a man lay with his wife and his mother, they were all three to be burnt with fire; which it is probable was the punishment in the other cases of incest. If a man lay with his uncle's wife, or his brother's wife, besides the punishment of death, the law adds, *they shall die childless;* which is supposed to mean, that whatever issue proceeds from such incestuous converse was to be esteemed spurious and illegitimate; and to be deprived of succeeding to their father's inheritance.

Lev. xx. 13, 14, &c.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of marrying with idolaters; laws concerning proselytes.

BESIDES these strict injunctions relating to affinity and consanguinity, there were other restraints laid upon the Hebrews in their marriages by the law of Moses; they were forbidden to enter into matrimonial contracts with the inhabitants of Canaan, lest the love of their wives should seduce them into idolatry. Some of the Jews would confine this prohibition to the seven nations only, but the best expositors extend it to all people that were idolaters, to whatever country they belonged; yet they allow that they might marry with them if they became proselytes of justice, which is supposed to be the case of Ruth a Moabitess and Delilah a daughter of the Philistines.

The case of marrying with proselytes of justice is thus explained by Mr. Selden; with proselytes of some nations, whether men or women, the Israelites were never to make any marriages; with those of some other nations, they were prohibited only to marry with men, with others they were restrained from marrying only for some generations, and there were others with whom they might marry, as soon as they were made perfect proselytes. Of the first kind were the seven nations of Canaan, with the males or females of which they were never to contract any affinity. To the second kind belong the Ammonites and the Moabites, to whose males an Israelitish woman was forbid to marry; but a man of Israel might marry any of their women after they professed the Jewish religion; otherwise David, who descended from Ruth a Moabitess, had been illegiti-

BOOK VI. mate. The Ammonites had denied the Hebrews the refreshment of bread and water when they were distressed in the wilderness, and the Moabites had invited Balaam, by the promises of a great reward, to come from the eastern countries to curse them; for which reason the males of these nations were excluded the privilege of contracting with the women of Israel: but as the learned Wagenseil has observed from a valuable manuscript, the females of those countries might, if they embraced the Jewish religion, marry with the men of Israel; for the women must be thought in all reason not to have been guilty, as the men were, of that which was the occasion of this law, it not being the custom for women to bring out bread and water to travellers, nor did they send ambassadors to hire Balaam to come and curse the Israelites. Of the third kind were the Edomites and Egyptians, with whom it was lawful to marry after they had been proselytes for three generations. This restriction, says Mr. Selden, was observed only to the captivity of Babylon, when these nations being confused, they might marry with any of them if they became Jews; for wars and colonies and deportations had made such a mixture of people, that it was scarce possible to discover to what country they belonged. Of the fourth kind were all other nations and people, except those above mentioned, with whom the Hebrews might lawfully marry, as soon as they became perfect proselytes.

But this law, as the Talmudists observe, did not extend to proselytes, who were allowed to marry with the idolatrous nations; however, it was esteemed as impious and unlawful for a Hebrew to

have any converse with a Gentile woman as with a woman in her uncleanness, from whence this character is given the Jews by Tacitus, that though they were a most libidinous people, yet they abstained from marrying with foreigners. It was not so criminal for a man circumcised to marry the daughter of one uncircumcised, as it was to give his daughter in marriage to an uncircumcised husband; for a man uncircumcised was accounted unclean though he had renounced idolatry, but a woman born of uncircumcised parents was not so accounted, if she embraced the worship of the true God; for which reason it is supposed that Salmon, a great man in the tribe of Judah, married Rahab who was a Canaanite.

CHAP. XXVII.

The ceremonies of marriage between a soldier and a fair captive taken in war.

THERE is one instance in which this law of marrying with foreigners admitted of an indulgence, and that was in the case of a soldier, who falls in love with a fair captive, whether a virgin, or a widow, or a wife, and passionately desires to marry her, though a stranger of another religion; she must be one of a neighbouring nation, but not one of the people of Canaan, for not one of those were to be spared, but if they resisted were all to be destroyed. It is a common opinion among the Jewish doctors, that it was lawful for a soldier to lie with such a captive once to satisfy his lust, but not repeat it unless he would take her for his wife; and this

Deut. xxi. 11.

BOOK VI. they suppose was allowed to military men when they were absent from their wives, in order to prevent greater outrages that were used to be committed by the heathen. But the more sober writers deliver a contrary doctrine, and will not allow an Israelite to converse with a Gentile at all, till the conditions that follow were accomplished, when he was to make her his wife.

The first thing required was, after the war was over, to take the captive home to his house. The rabbins, who are so indulgent to the soldiers' lust, will have this to signify, that they were obliged to observe the rules of modesty in the camp, and not lie with her openly like beasts, but privately in their tents; but this construction has few followers. When he had brought her home, he was to dispose of her thus; she was to have her head shaved; which some suppose was done with a design to abate his affection, that he might not marry her at all, and others to prepare her and make her fit for his bed. By having her head shaved, (which every one knows was used in mourning,) she was deprived of one of her greatest ornaments, and made less amiable, which might be a means to extinguish the affection her beauty had kindled; but others more justly conceive this to have been a kind of purification and cleansing of her from her Gentilism, and a sign of her becoming a new woman, that she might be better qualified to become his wife: the captive was then to pare her nails, which likewise was a sign of neatness: but they of the other opinion translate the words, "Let her nails grow," as our marginal translation has it, and the Arabic and Chaldee and the Hebrew doctors commonly under-

stand it: this was intended to make her more deformed, and to lessen the affection of her lover; at least this ceremony was suitable to the condition of a mourner, for such she evidently was, being obliged to strip herself of her fine clothes, which it is supposed she had when she was made a captive, and to put on a mean and sordid habit, and all this to cool the love of the soldier; these ceremonies being designed (as the Jews observe) to make the woman as little inviting as possible, that such marriages might not be common among them. She was likewise obliged to keep herself retired within doors as a most unfortunate person, and there to lament the loss of her father and mother, who perhaps were killed in the war, or rather whom she was never likely to see any more; and this also the Jews suppose served to abate his affection; for grief is one of the greatest enemies to beauty: she had a whole month allowed her to indulge her sorrow, for so long the Jews bewailed their dead relations, at least those of a superior quality among them. This constitution is highly magnified by Philo, whose opinion it was, that this captive might not be touched before all the ceremonies were accomplished: "Moses," says he, "ordered every thing most excellently in "this law; first, in not letting the reins loose to "men's desires, but restraining them for thirty days; "in which time, secondly, a trial was made of his "love, whether it was a furious, ungovernable pas-"sion, or had something of reason in it; and thirdly, "this was a merciful law to the captive, that if she "were a virgin, she might bewail her unhappiness "in not being disposed of in marriage by her pa-"rents; if a widow, that she had lost her first love,

CHAP. XXVII.

Lib. de Philanthrop.

BOOK VI. " and was now to be married to a man who was to " be her lord as well as her husband."

A month being spent in the forementioned ceremonies, the man, if he continued to love her, might take her for a wife, provided she was willing to embrace the Jewish religion; in which, while she remained retired in his house, she was to be instructed: for the Jewish doctors agree, that she was to be baptized, and not merely made a proselyte of the gate, that is, renounce idolatry; otherwise he might not marry her. If she refused absolutely to embrace their religion, Maimonides says, they gave her a year's time to consider of it; at the end of which, if she remained still obstinate, they required her at least to observe the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, and so become a proselyte of the gate, otherwise she was to be slain: but though she was so far converted, no Jew might take her to wife, for such a marriage was counted impious. Those Hebrew doctors who conceive that the soldier might lawfully enjoy the woman once, as soon as she was made a captive, have added another conceit to this; that there was not only this month's time allowed her to bewail her parents, but that he was to stay two months more, before he might go in to her and be her husband, that he might see whether she was with child or no by his first enjoyment of her; for if she were, a great difference was to be made between that child, and those she might have by him after marriage. And to prove this, they bring the example of Tamar, the daughter of David, whose mother being a captive, they suppose he lay with her as soon as she was taken, and had this issue by her; but afterwards she becoming a proselyte he

made her his wife, and she bare him Absalom: whereby it came to pass, that there were not such a relation between her and the other sons of David by other women, but that it had been lawful for Amnon to have married her. But the famous Abarbanel judges all this to be very absurd, who neither believes that David would have committed this fact, as to lie with a woman in her Gentilism, nor if he had, that this child would have been looked upon as a Gentile, since he afterwards married her mother; and therefore he takes those words of Tamar, *Speak to the king, and he will not withhold me from thee,* to be a mere evasion to put him off and get rid of his company, which Amnon understood very well; who knowing he could not have her for a wife, proceeded to force her. CHAP. XXVII. 2 Sam. xii. 13. 2 Sam. xiii. 13.

If the soldier at the month's end, or any time before, had changed his mind, and resolved not to take her for a wife, he was obliged to meddle no more with her, (as the Hebrew doctors understand it,) nor keep her any longer as a slave, nor sell her, or make merchandise of her, but to give her liberty to go where she pleased. This he lost, say the Jews of that opinion, by his short pleasure he took at first, for other captives, whom a man had made himself master of by the law of war, he might employ in his work as slaves, or make money of them; but one whom he had lain with, he was either to marry, or to set at liberty. The reason given in the law why she had her freedom is, *because he had humbled her;* which expression in other places of scripture signifies close converse with a woman, and here is supposed to intend as much; yet some conceive it implies no more than that he had greatly afflicted

BOOK VI. her; for the word in the Hebrew signifies any sort of affliction. And sufficient affliction and humiliation it was to a poor captive, to be brought into a soldier's house, to be kept there a month with her head shaved, and in a state of mourning, and all this in prospect of marriage, and at last, when it should have been consummated, to be rejected; especially when she had submitted to be baptized as a preparation for it.

Exod. i. 11. Psal. xc. 15. xciv. 5.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of eunuchs: of bastards and harlots.

Deut. xxiii. 1. THERE is a law which expressly forbids eunuchs to *enter into the congregation of the Lord:* whether they were made so by having their stones bruised or compressed, or by having their privy members wholly cut off, which was done when the other method did not answer the purpose in this unnatural practice. The meaning of this law has given great trouble to expositors, and some have even conceived, that such a person was not to be entertained as a proselyte, nor admitted to worship at the temple; which is an unreasonable conjecture; for if they renounced their idolatry, the temple was common to all nations. The design therefore must be either to forbid the Israelites to marry with such persons, or not to admit them to bear any office in the Jewish commonwealth. The Hebrew doctors generally take it in the first sense, and so do many among Christian writers; but some conceive it to be superfluous to forbid this, because none would marry with such persons as were incapable to perform the

Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent. lib. v. c. 16.

conjugal duty; and therefore they follow the second sense, it being certain that by *congregation* is signified in many places, not the whole body of the Hebrew nation, but the great assembly of elders, into which no such person was to be admitted, because they were unfit for government; eunuchs being observed generally to want courage. But it is certain, likewise, that by *the congregation of the Lord* is meant in other places the whole people of Israel; and particularly where the law speaks of forbidden marriages: and though marriages with eunuchs were useless and unprofitable, as Maimonides observes, yet they allowed a distinction between those that were made eunuchs by God, that is, born so, and those made by men; and this law, they say, is not to be understood of the former, but only of the latter, some of which, it is certain, were left in such a condition, that they were desirous of marriage, as appears by the constitution of the emperor Leo, who did not think it superfluous to forbid marriage with them; so that it is evident, that some women made choice of such husbands. And on the other side, though eunuchs were unfit for marriage, yet it appears by many instances in history, that they were well qualified for government; nor did they want courage to execute the greatest undertakings. CHAP. XXVIII. Ecclus. xxx. 20. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. viii.

Another law follows, *A bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, to the tenth generation:* the word in the Hebrew is *mamzer*, and is conceived not only to signify one begotten in simple fornication, out of the state of marriage, but a person, whether male or female, born of any woman whom the law prohibited them to have knowledge of, whether it was by violence or consent, by Deut. xxiii. 2.

BOOK VI. error or advisedly, it made no difference. A person thus unlawfully begotten was not to marry with an Israelite, as all the doctors, none excepted, expound it; as Mr. Selden observes. If any man of Israel married such a woman, or a woman of Israel married such a man, and they were found in bed together after espousals, they were both whipt for violating this precept; but if they lay together without espousals, this punishment was not inflicted. The reason of this law seems to be, that people might be deterred from such marriages or conjunctions, which would leave an indelible blot upon their posterity.

De Success. in Pontific. lib. ii. c. 2.

There were some also of these mamzers, who were not evidently born of incestuous or other forbidden mixtures, but were called *dubious*, because their fathers were not known; or being exposed, and found in the fields or streets, neither father or mother could be discovered: it being uncertain therefore whence they were descended, the Israelites might not marry with them, lest they should be polluted by those, who perhaps were born of incestuous parents. But proselytes of justice, they say, might marry with mamzers; and that they might not for ever be excluded from the congregation of the Lord, they contrived this remedy for the restitution of their blood. They might marry a slave (who was baptized and become a Jew) whose children were not reputed mamzers, but only slaves; who being made Jews, and having their freedom given them, might lawfully marry with a Jewish woman, and then they were entirely incorporated into the congregation: for the issue always follows the mother, no regard being had to the father at all.

Josephus, in his account of the Hebrew marriages, asserts, that a Hebrew was not to marry a harlot, because God abhorred the nuptials of such a woman, upon the account of the filthiness of her body; but there is no such law to be met with in the code of the Mosaic institutions. CHAP. XXVIII. Antiq. lib. iv. c. 2.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of women marrying in their own tribes. Of marrying the brother's wife, according to the Levitical law. The ceremony of pulling off the shoe, and spitting in the face.

TO preserve inheritances in the tribe to which they first belonged, the law of Moses enjoined that all women who were heiresses should marry in their own tribe, and in their own family, but other women might marry into what tribe they pleased; for Aaron married the sister of the prince of Judah. If it be objected that this was done before the delivery of the law, it is evident that Jehoiada a priest, and consequently of the tribe of Levi, married a sister of king Jehoram, who was of the tribe of Judah: and long before this, all the tribes of Israel being in great solicitude how to find wives for their brethren of Benjamin, did not scruple their having them out of any tribe, if it had not been for their oath. And to add no more, David himself, of the tribe of Judah, married Michal the daughter of Saul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin. The Talmudists observe, that even heiresses might marry into what tribe they pleased, after the division of the land by Joshua, to which they imagine this law was restrained; it Numb. xxxvi. 6. Exod. vi. 23. 2 Chron. xxii. 11. Judg. xxi. 18.

BOOK VI. being a common saying among them, that it did not belong to any age, but to that in which it was made. In the following ages, they pretend a man might purchase land in any tribe, and possess it alway, or have the inheritance of it by marriage, though himself were of another tribe. But the learned Grotius, in his annotations upon St. Matthew, confutes this opinion.

Selden de Success. ad Leg. Heb. c. 18.

Matth. i. 16.

Deut. xxv. 5, &c.

The law next to be explained was of the same use with the former; which was to secure estates in the family that first possessed them, and is commonly called *the law of levirate:* the obligation of it was, that if a man died without issue, leaving a widow behind him, the brother of the deceased was bound to marry the widow of his brother; that so the eldest son born from this marriage might retain his father's name, pass for his son, and inherit all his estate; which is the meaning of the expression, *to raise up seed to a brother.* This was a law before the time of Moses, among the patriarchs, and the force of it was so well understood, that the Hebrew doctors say, it was not necessary there should be any solemn marriage celebrated with such a widow; because, unless her husband's brother renounced her, she was esteemed his wife by divine authority, and that whether she had been only espoused by the deceased brother, or his complete wife: yet by the constitution of their elders, he was to contract with her before two witnesses, and give her a piece of money; and before this, it was unlawful for him to lie with her. There was also to be a sacred benediction of the marriage, and her dowry assigned her by an instrument; but if he lay with her before those solemnities, there was no formal contract ex-

Gen. xxxviii. 7, 8.

acted of him afterward: he was only to be scourged for contemning the constitutions of the elders, and compelled to settle a dowry upon her.

Selden. Ux. Heb. lib. i. c. 14.

If a man left several widows, and if his brother either married or renounced one of them, all the rest were free from this law; and if several brethren died, and left every one of them a wife without issue, the surviving brother might either take or reject them all, or choose one or two, and let the rest alone as he pleased. If the eldest brother that married his brother's relict died also without issue, the next surviving brother was to marry her; if he died issueless, the third brother succeeded in the same manner; the fourth to the third, and so to all the rest: yet that brother only was admitted to this marriage, who was born before his brother's death, which is collected from the express words of the law, *if brethren dwell together*, which cannot be intended of one born after his brother was dead. It does not appear that the brother was to act in this case, if he himself was married before; for it should seem that he lay under no necessity of raising up seed to another, when at the same time he was married in order to raise his own family. It is further observed, that the law of levirate took place only with the brothers by the same father. It is, they say, commanded by the law, that a man shall marry his deceased brother's widow, to raise up seed for him; but this must be understood only of brothers by the same father, whether the deceased was actually married or only contracted, so he died without issue, it was the same case; those that were brothers only by the mother's side, being not considered as brothers, as well in respect to succession, as in re-

Maimon. Tr. Libbum. c. 6.

BOOK VI. ference of marrying the brother's widow; because there can be no right of fraternity, but what comes from the father's side.

The old practice, before the time of Moses, admitted of a great mitigation by this law; for now a man might, if he did not like her, refuse to marry his brother's wife;—which was not permitted before, as appears by the story of Onan, who married Tamar against his will, as his behaviour towards her demonstrates: for this he had no occasion to have done, if this permission which here follows had been then in use.

Gen. xxxviii.

The woman upon the brother's refusal applied to the court of judgment, which usually sat in one of the gates; and a court of these elders was sufficient to determine in this matter; and it seems it was indifferent whether these three were created elders according to the solemn form among them, by laying on of hands; but it was sufficient, if they were such as they called *elders of the street*, or common men: the woman was to prefer a bill of complaint in these words, *My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel, he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother.* Then was the man summoned to appear, together with the woman, (who, they say, was to be fasting,) and two witnesses at the least; and she opened the whole matter. She was asked whether it was three months since the death of her husband, (which were allowed to see whether she proved with child,) and whether this man was next of kin: a satisfactory answer being returned, the judges explained the law before them, and admonished them seriously to consider on each side, their age, or any disparity or inconveni-

Deut. xxv. 7.

ence that might be in their marriage; and accordingly to resolve. Then was the man asked in express words, whether he would marry her, and raise up seed to his brother? if he stood to his first resolution, and said, *I like not to take her*, she pronounced aloud, *My husband's brother*, &c. and then coming up to him, *pulled off his right shoe*, (as the Hebrew doctors say,) and when she had lift it up, threw it with indignation against the ground: this was understood as a mark of infamy, and a punishment for his want of natural affection, which made him unworthy to be reckoned among freemen, but deserve rather to be thrust down into the condition of slaves, that were used to go barefoot. As another instance of contempt, she was *to spit full in his face.* The Hebrew doctors, indeed, expound this of spitting upon the ground directly before his face, so that the spittle might be seen by the judges; and they give this as a reason why the king was not subject to this law of marrying his brother's wife; and they might add the high priest, because it would have been below his dignity to have his shoe pulled off, (if he did not approve of the woman,) or to have had her spit before him. There was a form of words accompanying this ceremony; for upon his peremptory refusal, the woman immediately read these words of the law, *So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house:* then the judges gave her a writing, signifying his renouncing of her in the manner now related, that so it might be free for her to marry whom she pleased. As soon as the shoe was loosed, the judges, and all the spectators round about, cried aloud three times, *The shoe is pulled off! The shoe is pulled off! The*

CHAP. XXIX.

Lev. xxi. 13.

BOOK VI. *shoe is pulled off!* and from thenceforward the family of the man had the name of *the house of him that had his shoe loosed;* which implies a disgrace fixed upon him for not doing the duty of a brother: some indeed would have this pulling off the shoe to signify no more than a token that he parted with his right to her; but the distinction set upon his family plainly proves that it was in the nature of a brand, and a standing reproach upon himself and his posterity.

There are many niceties, concerning this law, to be found in the writings of the Jews; some of which, serving to explain it, may be properly mentioned in this place. If the deceased person left behind him a daughter, or any grandchildren, the widow was under no obligation of marrying her husband's brother, but might dispose of herself as she thought best; nay, if her husband left only a bastard, provided he were born by a Jewish woman, there was no occasion for the raising up of his seed; because bastards in the point of inheritance were considered as legitimate children. The Jews speak thus upon this head: when it is said in the law that he dies without sons, it is to be understood that he dies without having any son or daughter, or any children of his son or daughter. If he has any children either by this or a preceding wife the widow is free, and discharged from the obligation to marry his brother-in-law, or to take off his shoe, though even the son or daughter were no legitimate children: but in case the child he leaves behind him be born of a slave, or a stranger, the widow is not discharged from that law, because the child born from a slave is a slave likewise; and those begotten

Maimon. Tr. Libbum. c. 1. sect. 3, 4.

of a pagan woman are considered as pagans also. This is the Jewish tradition, for the absolute verity of which I will not be answerable. If the deceased left behind him either a son or daughter, and the child died immediately after the father, the brother was not obliged to marry his sister-in-law. If a man left his wife behind him big with child, and she miscarried of a dead child after her husband's death, the brother-in-law of the widow was obliged to raise up seed to his brother; but if the child be born alive, though it dies the next moment after, the mother is discharged from this obligation of marrying her brother-in-law, or of untying his shoe. If the eldest brother was travelling abroad in foreign countries, the second brother could not oblige the widow to stay for his eldest brother's return; but must either marry his sister-in-law, or suffer the loosing of his shoe. He who married his sister-in-law was put into possession of the whole estate belonging to his deceased brother; but in quality only of guardian to the next child: if many children were procreated by this marriage, the eldest son only of this woman was considered as the son and absolute heir of the deceased; if the eldest died, the second succeeded in all his rights, being reputed the true child of the first husband: if they had no more than one child between them, he was considered as the son both of the deceased and the living father; and the same custom was obtained among the daughters. It is observed further, that there were certain circumstances, under which a brother-in-law might decline the marrying his brother's widow, without having his shoe pulled off: for instance, if the woman was old and past childbearing, or known natu-

BOOK VI. rally to be barren; if she was unchaste, or convicted before of any enormous crime; in such like cases the brother-in-law, having represented the matter to the judges, they discharged him from the obligation of marrying his brother's widow, without having his shoe untied or taken off.

CHAP. XXX.

Of redeeming the land, and marrying the widow of a deceased kinsman. The rites of delivering the shoe.

THE ceremony of pulling off the shoe was made use of upon another occasion, which, I confess, should have been mentioned in the former part of these Antiquities; but this rite being asserted by Grotius to relate to the law of a man's raising up seed to his brother, I purposely deferred the explanation of it to this place; though (by the leave of so great a man) I am now verily persuaded that the practice of it belonged to a quite different design. It was allowed by the law, that if a man had sold his land, and was not able to redeem it before the jubilee, his next relation might do it, and the buyer could not refuse: and the same liberty was indulged if the man who sold it was dead; but then he could not enjoy this land, unless he would marry the widow with it, to whom it belonged as long as she lived; and was to go to her issue when she died. Now if the nearest kinsman refused this redemption, he who stood next in relation, and was willing to redeem the land, and marry the widow, had a power to summon him before the court of judgment, and in the presence of ten of the elders of the place, to

In Matth. xxii. 24.

Lev. xxv. 24, 25.

Ruth iv. 4, 5, &c.

demand of him, whether he was willing to redeem the land of his kinsman deceased? If he refused, he plucked off his shoe himself, and delivered it to his next kinsman, as a sufficient evidence that he transferred his right to him. CHAP. XXX.

It is not easy to give an account of the original of this custom, that is founded upon no positive law; but the reason of it is plain, it signifying naturally that he resigned his interest in the land, by giving him his shoe wherewith he used to walk in it, to the end that he might enter into it, and take possession of it himself. The Targum, instead of the shoe, has the right-hand glove, it being the custom, perhaps, at that time, to deliver that in the place of the shoe; as now the Jews give a handkerchief or a veil to the same purpose. The Hebrew doctors indeed differ much about this matter, for some say he that parted with his right to redeem the land pulled off his shoe, and gave it to him that bought it; but others, that he who bought it gave his shoe to him that sold it: it is certain, that the text in the book of Ruth (the only place where this rite is mentioned) may be either way understood, but it is most reasonable to think, that he who parted with his right parted with his shoe also. The learned Selden observes from hence, how different this political ceremony was from the rites used when a man renounced his brother's wife; for it does not appear that Ruth loosed her kinsman's shoe, as the brother's wife is ordered to do, much less did she spit in his face, of which there is not one word in this ceremony, which relates wholly to the sale of lands, or to their redemption, and bringing them back again into the family to which they belonged.

Ch. iv. 7.

De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipl. Ebr. c. 6.

CHAP. XXXI.

Penalties for deflouring a virgin unbetrothed. Of whoredom, sodomy, bestiality.

BOOK VI. SIMPLE fornication was no capital offence in the Hebrew republic: if a man seduced an unbetrothed maid by flattery and fair promises, perhaps of marriage, and lay with her in the city, unless witnesses came and proved that he forced her, he was obliged to make satisfaction for taking away her virginity; which was, by paying so much, in the nature of her dowry, as would render her fit to be his wife, if both of them could agree; the sum was fifty shekels, says Josephus: yet so that if either he or she, or her father, refused, (for it was in the power of any of these, say the Jews, to hinder the marriage,) he paid this mulct as the dowry of a virgin to her father.

Exod. xxii. 16.

Antiq. lib. iv. c. 6.

But if a man found an unbetrothed virgin in the field, and there were witnesses to prove that he lay with her by force, or they confessed the fact themselves, the man was bound to pay to the father of the damsel fifty shekels of silver; which made a difference between this case and that above mentioned; where the man was obliged to settle a dowry upon her, but here to pay a fine to her father. The reason is plain, because there was no need of settling a dowry in this case, as in the former; which justly required a dowry, lest her husband should wantonly put her away by divorce, and she have nothing to maintain her: but of this there was no danger here, because the law expressly enjoins that he should marry her, and not put her away all his days. Concerning the payment of this mulct to the father of

Deut. xxii. 28.

the damsel many exceptions are made by the Jews; but this is considerable, that this fine was the same, whether the woman was of noble or of mean parentage, neither more or less was paid by the law: yet in after-times, the sanhedrim, they tell us, added some other mulcts besides this here mentioned, because it seemed so small, that the honour of a virgin was not thought sufficiently repaired by it; therefore he that enticed a virgin paid other two, one for the shame and dishonour he had done her, and the other for the loss of her virginity, and vitiating her body; and he that forced a virgin (which was always supposed to be the present case) paid a third besides these two, upon account of the pain he was supposed to have put her in. And in these three they proportioned the penalties to the quality of the person, and other considerations which made them vary.

Selden. Ux. Heb. lib. i. c. 16.

Besides this pecuniary fine, the man was obliged to marry the virgin he had defloured, if she and her father pleased; for both their consents were required, though the man had not the liberty to refuse; not if she were lame, or blind, or leprous, or had any other blemish upon her; and as a complete punishment for the force he had committed, he was constrained, not only to take her for a wife, but to keep her as long as she lived; he was not allowed to give her a bill of divorce, as other men, who desired to part with their wives, might lawfully do. If it be inquired how it could be known whether a virgin was enticed or forced? they answer, that it was reasonably presumed that she was forced, if the act was done in the field, or in a place far from inhabitants; but if in the city or town, that

BOOK VI. she consented, unless the contrary was evidently proved.

Deut. xxiii. 17. The law of Moses expressly enjoined that no daughter of Israel should be a whore, nor no son of an Israelite be a sodomite or a whoremonger, as

Uxor Heb. lib. iii. c. 23. the words may justly be translated, as Mr. Selden observes; and so they are rendered by the Vulgar Latin and the Seventy: and great reasons, says

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 49. Maimonides, there were for this prohibition; for by whoredom families are confounded and destroyed, and their issue are looked upon by all men as aliens; therefore public stews were disallowed among the Israelites, who had this benefit by it among others, that quarrels and fightings and bloodshed were prevented, which frequently happened when many men met at the same time, and contended for the

Jer. v. 7. same woman; for so the scripture says, *They assembled by troops in the harlots' houses:* for preventing these and such like mischiefs, and that the distinction of families might be preserved, both whores and whoremongers are here condemned, and no other conjunction permitted, but with a man's own wife publicly married; for if a private marriage had been sufficient, many would have kept women in their houses as their whores, and pretend they were their wives: therefore if a man had privately espoused a woman, he was obliged publicly to keep his wedding.

Lev. xviii. 22. Sodomy by the law of Moses was capital, and though the kind of death is not mentioned, yet it is probable it was by burning, because the impure Sodomites were consumed by fire.

Lev. xx. 15. All bestiality and horrid mixtures were forbidden under capital penalties; the person and the beast, as

commentators suppose, were to be stoned to death. The beast, says the learned Bochart, was killed as an instrument in the crime, just as a forger of deeds is hanged with his pen and counterfeit seals, and a conjurer with his magical books and characters; and this is also useful as an example, though not to other beasts, yet to him whose concern it is to consider, that if beasts were not spared who were incapable of sinning, what will become of them who committed such crimes against the known laws of God, and the impressions of nature itself? The Talmudists observe, that the beast suffered, that there might be no memory left of so foul a crime; by men's pointing and saying, "There goes the beast "that such a man lay with, or for which such a "man or woman was put to death." The seven nations that inhabited the land of Canaan were overrun and destroyed upon the account of their filthy vices; which was sufficient caution to the Hebrews, who came into their room, to avoid and abhor such monstrous impurities.

CHAP. XXXI.

Hierozoic. p. i. lib. ii. c. 16.

Mischna Tit. Sanhed. c. 7. n. 4.

Lev. xviii. 23.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of deflouring a virgin betrothed. The punishment of adultery.

TO deflour a woman that was betrothed to a husband, though not yet known by him, was punished with death, for there was generally some space of time between the espousals and bringing her home to her husband's house. If the act was done in the city, they were both summoned before the court of judgment, and upon conviction were stoned;

Deut. xxii. 23.

BOOK VI. the woman, because she did not cry out, which was an evidence she had no force [c]offered her, but lay with him by consent; and the man, for abusing his neighbour's wife, for so she was by the contract of espousals; and this, it is supposed, was the case of the woman in adultery mentioned in the John viii. 5. Gospel.

Deut. xxii. 25. But if he met with a betrothed damsel [d]in the field and defloured her, the woman, by the circumstances of the place, was supposed not to consent, but to cry out, and to be under a force, which without doubt she pleaded, and he could not prove the contrary; she was therefore excused, it being her misfortune rather than her fault that she was ravished, but the man, as only guilty of the crime, was to suffer death.

Thus was the law executed, if the parties concerned were Israelites; but if a man lay with a bondmaid that was betrothed, they were both punished by scourging, and the man was likewise to offer a trespass offering as an atonement; but this case has been sufficiently explained in another part of B. iv. c. 10. these Antiquities.

Lev. xxi. 9. If the daughter of a priest that was betrothed played the whore, (as the Hebrew doctors unanimously understand this law,) she was doubly guilty, first, in profaning or dishonouring herself, who, being related to so eminent a person committed so foul a crime, and secondly, by dishonouring her father, whose reputation suffered by this offence: the punishment was burning, the sorest penalty among the Jews, and was not inflicted upon other persons in this case, who were barely stoned, but only upon the daughter of a priest, from whom greater virtue

was expected; the man, it is supposed, was strangled. But if the witnesses of this fact were convicted of perjury, by other credible witnesses produced by the woman or her father, then both her husband who accused her, and those false witnesses, suffered the same punishment that she should have done.

Adultery was punished with death among the Hebrews, and if we believe their doctors, it was by strangling: if the parties concerned were apprehended in the act and convicted, they were to die for it, and it was not left to the husband's liberty whether he would spare their lives or not; but if he pleased, he was not obliged by law to bring his wife to shame by the trial of the bitter waters before the priest, or to punishment by the sentence of the judges. The adulteress indeed was to be put to death, if she were accused, prosecuted, and convicted; but the law did not oblige to accuse or prosecute, unless she was found in the fact, and then no connivance was allowed. It may be inquired in this place, whether a man might marry a woman after the death of her husband, with whom he had committed adultery? This was the case of David and Bathsheba, the legality of whose marriage is much disputed. But the contract seems to have been valid, because she is frequently in scripture called the wife of David; and Adonijah, who claimed the succession before Solomon, because he was the elder brother, never objected to him that he was spurious and illegitimate.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The trial of the suspected wife, by administering the bitter waters.

BOOK VI. A WOMAN suspected of adultery was put upon her purgation by a peculiar ceremony: as soon as the husband entertained a jealousy of her virtue, and had reason to believe she conversed with another man, he was obliged to forbid his wife, before two witnesses, from having any commerce with the man he suspected; and the defect of this formality, the Jews say, was a sufficient reason to secure the accused from capital punishment. If she persisted in her intrigue, and was observed by two witnesses to have been so long in private with another man as she might have been defiled, the man was to begin his process before the magistrates of the place where he lived, having with him his witnesses both of the premonition he had given her, and of the privacy she had with another after his premonition. Otherwise, as Mr. Selden observes, this action did not lie against her. If the husband happened to see her alone by himself, or in company of one witness only, he might give her a letter of divorce, but could not engage her to drink the bitter waters. If a woman behaved herself ill, yet unperceived by her husband, and without creating any jealousy in him, the husband being afterward advertised of her conduct, might, say the Jews, give her a letter of divorce, but could not force her to this purgation.

Numb. v. 12.

Uxor Heb. lib. iii. c. 13. Ainsworth upon Numb. v. 13.

The husband having brought the wife before the judges of the place where he dwelt, having his witnesses ready, he opened his accusation in this manner: "Having a jealousy of this my wife, I admo-

" nished her not to keep company with such a one, " with whom she afterward was in secret, and these " are the witnesses of it; she says she is innocent; " but I desire that the water might be given her " that the truth may be tried." Then she was referred to the great sanhedrim at Jerusalem, who alone had authority to judge the cause, and she was conducted thither by two scholars of the wife, in order to prevent the husband's cohabiting with her, which was not to be allowed after the process was begun. The council having the accused before them by herself, the husband being put out of court, endeavoured by striking a terror into her, and then by good words, to induce her to confess: " Dear " daughter, perhaps thou wast overtaken by drink- " ing too much wine, or wast in a gay humour, or " carried away by the heat of youth, or by the ex- " ample of evil neighbours; come, confess the truth, " for the sake of his great name which is described " in the most sacred ceremony, and do not let it be " blotted out by the water." If, after this, she owned the fact, saying, " I am defiled," then she was to tear the instruments of her dowry in pieces, and go where she pleased; for such an adulteress was not put to death, but only lost her dowry without any other punishment; but if she denied the fact, protesting she was ready to drink the waters, they brought her through the east gates, says the Talmud, which are before the door of the gate of Nicanor, and here they tugged and haled her up and down those stairs, to bring her by weariness to confession. If she still persisted in her innocence, she was set in the gate of Nicanor, which was the east gate of the court, and put upon her trial.

BOOK VI. But before the process began, the husband was obliged to bring an oblation for her, in order to supplicate the Divine majesty, that he would be pleased to clear the woman's innocence, if she were causelessly suspected, or otherwise discover and punish her guilt. This consisted of the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal, which was a vile sort of offering, most suitable to her sad condition; for which reason also, there was no oil nor frankincense allowed to be offered with it, for these were always understood to be signs of joy and gladness, and therefore not used upon so melancholy an occasion as this was. It is called in the law *an offering of memorial bringing iniquity to remembrance;* for now the woman appeared before God as a sinner, and if she proved innocent, yet she was loaded with an accusation and a just suspicion of guilt, for which if she had given any reason, this sacrifice reminded her of it, and awakened her conscience to reflect upon it.

The priest whose lot it was to attend at that time in his course was to put her upon her trial; he laid hold of her bosom, and rent her clothes open, till he had laid her breasts bare as low as her heart; her clothes he tied to her throat, with a cord that came from Egypt, to put her in mind of the miracles that God had wrought in that country; her hair was dishevelled, which was a great indignity to the Jewish women: she was dressed in black, without her ring and other ornaments, that were taken from her; here, in the presence of a great number of women and of men, if they could be there, she stood upon her deliverance; but her maids and domestic servants were not suffered to be there, lest, say some, she should place any confidence in them; or as

others, lest her mind should be overcome with too much grief at the sight of them.

The water she was obliged to drink was called *the holy water*, because it was taken out of the laver of the court; the priest used an earthen vessel for this purpose, to signify, say the Jews, that she should be broken in pieces like that earthen vessel, if she was guilty of what she denied: the quantity of water was half a log, which is about three egg-shells full, upon which he was to sprinkle some of the dust, taken from the floor of the tabernacle; (as a token of her vileness, this being the serpents food;) but if there was no dust in the tabernacle, he was allowed to fetch it from some other place, and lay it upon the floor of the tabernacle, and then take it up and put it into the water. After the building of the temple, where the floor was either of cedar wood, gilt, or of marble, they had left a loose marble stone, which might be lifted up by the help of a ring, between the doors of the entrance of the temple; from underneath this stone they took the dust, which being put into the water, swam upon the surface of it. It has been observed by learned men, that such methods of purgation were in use among the Gentiles, which if they could be proved to have been as ancient as the days of Moses, it would make it probable that this was ordered by God, to divert the Jews from following the superstitions of other nations; to make this discovery, and bring them to appear before him, at his tabernacle, and there use such rites as were immediately of his own appointment.

The woman being placed at the door of the tabernacle, with her head uncovered, (as the manner was in all judicial proceedings,) the priest put the offer-

BOOK VI. ing of jealousy in her hands, under which he held one of his own, and at the same time had the bitter water in the other, which he shewed her: the water was called *bitter*, because of the direful effects it had upon the body of the woman, if she was found guilty. The Jews indeed fancy that the priest put wormwood, or gall, or some other bitter drug in it; but of this there is no mention made in the law, which speaks nothing of bitterness in the composition. Then did the priest most solemnly adjure her to tell the truth, in this form: "If no man have lain "with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to un- "cleanness with another man, instead of thy hus- "band, be thou free from this bitter water that "causeth the curse:" then follows a dreadful malediction, conceived in these terms of the law, "But "if thou hast gone aside to another, instead of thy "husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man "have lain with thee, besides thine husband, the "Lord make thee a curse, and an oath, among the "people; when the Lord maketh thy thigh to rot, "and thy belly to swell; and this water that caus- "eth the curse, shall go into thy bowels, to make "thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to rot;" the woman was to answer twice, Amen, Amen; for there being a double curse, one that her belly should swell, and another, that her thigh should rot, she said a double Amen; praying that both might fall upon her if she were guilty. This form was to be pronounced to the woman in a language she understood; but she was not obliged by it to confess whether she had committed any crime of that nature before she was contracted to her husband, or (if that was her case) since her having been divorced from him, and

retaken by him. If after a man had brought his wife to this trial, he chanced to die before this adjuration, she was free from taking the potion, but lost her dowry. CHAP. XXXIII.

The curses the priest was to write upon a scroll of parchment, and then he was to scrape out the words he had written into the bitter water, or, as some expound it, he was to wash what he had written with the water, till the words were quite blotted out. The offering of jealousy was then waved, and offered at the south corner of the altar; a handful of it was burnt, the rest the priests were to eat, unless her husband himself was a priest, in which case it was all thrown among the ashes. Mr. Selden observes, that if the woman confessed the fact, or her husband would not suffer her to drink, or either of them died before she drunk, or a witness of the adultery appeared, which made the whole useless, the whole sacrifice was burnt, and not only a part of it. Uxor. Heb. lib. iii. c. 13.

Now was the water offered to the accused person to drink; if she refused, they forced her with this preceding admonition; "My daughter, if thou art "confident of thy innocence, fear not to drink this "water, which will do thee no more hurt than dry "poison, laid upon the flesh of a living creature." If upon this she confessed she had been defiled, the water was immediately poured out; if she drunk, the most dreadful effects followed if she was guilty, her veins swelled, her face grew livid, and her eyes started out of her head, her belly was ready to burst, her thigh began to rot, and so she expired; but before she was dead she was carried out, lest the court of the temple should be defiled by her dying there. Mr. Lightfoot remarks from the rabbins, that the

BOOK VI. operation of these waters, sometimes, did not appear for two or three years, for she bare no children, she was sickly, languished, and at last died of that death; but this opinion is generally exploded. The adulterer also (if we believe the Jews) died the same day, and at the same hour; his belly swelled as hers did, and his secret parts rotted, and he expired in the same miserable manner. But if the wife proved innocent, her face immediately became lively, and her eyes sparkled with an unusual lustre; if she was afflicted with any distemper, she was freed from it; if before she used to have hard labours, for the future she had an easy delivery; if she had only daughters, she brought forth males; with many other privileges observed by the writers of that nation. They say also, that if she kept company with the same man whom her husband suspected, and by his renewed admonition had required her not to be in private with him, this potion was not repeated, but she was dismissed from being his wife without any dowry: but if she conversed privately with any other person after admonition, to the contrary, this potion might be repeated, as often as she offended with new lovers. If the husband put her away after her acquittal, and she married another man, who had the same ground of jealousy as her former husband had, because of her familiarity with the same person, whom he had forbidden her to keep company with, her new husband might bring her to a new trial by this water; and so might as many husbands as she should marry, one after another, if she gave the same occasion.

The wife or her parents, if she appeared to be innocent, could have no action against the husband,

upon the account of this accusation, and if she was guilty, she was justly punished for her crime; but the husband was not obliged to bring his wife to this purgation, if he could otherwise get rid of his jealousy; yet the priest was bound to proceed against her according to the foregoing rules if she was set to be tried: the process might be executed upon any day that was not a festival, and in any hour of the day, but not in the night; nor might he give the drink to two suspected women at the same time: where the too indulgent husband suffered his wife to be guilty, or to spread reports against his honour, the magistrates took the husband's place, and made the prosecution. However, say the Jews, there are many cases in which the wives are exempted from the magistrate's and the husband's jurisdiction; for the wife and the husband ought to be sound in body and mind; a deaf, a dumb, or a lame man has no right; a young woman that is a minor, is not subject to the inquest; because the law appoints it only against a woman, with many more exceptions equally trifling. There seems to be more reason in what the Talmudists conclude, that this action did not lie against a woman that was only espoused, or that waited for her former husband's brother to take her to wife, if she gave suspicion of being defiled. If a man was guilty of the same crime his wife was accused of, having defiled himself by fornication or adultery, the waters of jealousy produced no effect upon the woman, nor could he oblige her to drink them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Mischna c. 4. sect. 1.

The design of this law was to preserve conjugal faith and chastity, and to protect suspected innocence: it secured men by a solemn appeal to God,

BOOK VI. from cruel and furious proceedings against their wives, and contained the women within their duty, out of dread of this punishment; which was so terrible, as Maimonides observes, even to innocent women, that they would have given all they had to avoid it; they wished rather to die than to undergo such a public infamy, of having their heads uncovered, their hair cut off, their garments torn to their breasts, and so to stand in the sanctuary before a multitude of men and women, and the whole sanhedrim. It is supposed that this way of trial ceased towards the latter end of the second temple, and was extinguished by the authority of the sanhedrim itself; because the number of adulterers was then so great, that the bitter waters had no effect: by this means, say the Jews, the prophecy of Hosea was accomplished, *I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your spouses when they commit adultery: for themselves are separated with whores, and they sacrifice with harlots.*

More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 49.

Hos. iv. 14.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The law of divorce. The form of a bill of divorce.

Deut. xxiv. 1. AS the preceding law was ordained in favour of the husbands, so this of divorce was made for the advantage of the wives. They had this privilege by it, that they could not be discharged and turned out of doors at pleasure; they were freed from the pain and vexation occasioned by froward and unkind husbands, and had the liberty of marrying others, who possibly might be tender of them, and delight in them.

A man, after he had espoused a wife, as well as after he had consummated the marriage, upon a dislike, founded, says the law, upon some uncleanness he perceived in her, might dissolve the contract by giving her a bill of divorcement: some of the Jews, indeed, extend this liberty so far, as to fancy they might, without any reason at all, for their mere pleasure, part with their wives; and their doctors, after the captivity, grew strangely loose upon this subject: but others are more modest, and confess that the reason being a matter of uncleanness, signifies a cause of some moment and importance; yet they distinguish between the first wife a man took, who might not be put away but for some uncleanness, and the second, who might be divorced for a less reason. There were great differences between the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai (so much talked of by the Talmudists) upon this matter of uncleanness; yet both agree that it signified much less than adultery, incest, or such like turpitude; for if adultery had been meant, she might have been put to death, or the mere suspicion of it might be tried by *the water of jealousy;* so that the most sober expositors have given two reasons upon which a bill of divorce might justly be allowed, either when the behaviour of the wife made her suspected of impurity; (as if she went with her face uncovered, or her breasts naked; if she sported with young men, or washed in the same place with them, or had her arms bare;) or they were both of such a different temper and disposition, that they loathed each other's company, and consequently lived in continual uneasiness and dissensions; besides such moral causes, they allowed also such natural as made the woman offensive, as

BOOK VI. if she had the leprosy, or some disease in her body, which he did not discover before marriage; and sometimes they extended this so far as to a stinking breath.

But whatever was the cause of the husband's dislike, he had not the liberty to turn her out of his house, without giving her a bill of divorce, called *a bill of expulsion, an instrument of dismission, and a bill of cutting off*; because by this means the woman was cut off from her husband's family. A copy of this bill is found in Alphesius, in the following form:

In Tract. Gittin.

" On the day of the week *N.* of the month of *N.* " of the year of the world's creation *N.* according to " the computation by which we are used to reckon, " in the province of *N.* I *N.* the son of *N.* and by " what name soever I am called, of the city *N.* with " the full consent of my mind, and without any " compulsion urging me, have put away, dismissed, " and expelled thee; thee, I say, *N.* the daughter of " *N.* by what name soever thou art called, of the " city *N.* who heretofore wert my wife, but now I " have dismissed thee; thee, I say, *N.* the daughter " of *N.* by what name soever thou art called, of the " city *N.* so that thou art free, and in thine own " power, to marry whosoever shall please thee; and " let no man hinder thee, from this day forward even " for ever. Thou art free therefore for any man, " and let this be to thee a bill of rejection from me, " letters of divorce, and a schedule of expulsion, ac- " cording to the law of Moses and of Israel.

" Reuben the son of Jacob, } Witness."
" Eliezer the son of Gilead, }

This bill being confirmed by the husband's seal, and the subscription at least of two witnesses, was delivered by the husband into the hand of the wife, in some such form, "Behold this is thy bill of di- "vorce," otherwise it was not valid: the wife, if she pleased, might carry this instrument to the sanhedrim, where it was enrolled among the records if she desired it, in memory of her dismission. Then was she sent out of the husband's house, which Dr. Hammond conceives to lay an obligation upon him, to furnish her for her journey, to endow her, and make provision for her: but the Jews are of opinion, that the divorce was perfect and complete, before he sent her out of his doors; for it was sufficient to give her an instrument in such a form, as plainly shewed the matrimony was dissolved, and that she was no part of his family, though he had not actually sent her away. Yet if he kept her still in his house, after this bill was delivered into her hand, it was presumed that they cohabited together, and therefore he was obliged to give her a new bill of divorce.

Answer to six Queries. Q. 3. c. 2.

The contract of marriage being wholly dissolved by this instrument, the woman was free to marry another man, who, if he pleased, might dismiss her with the same ceremonies; but she was obliged to tarry ninety days, besides the day of divorce, or of her husband's death, and her last espousals, that it might be known whether she was with child or no; and that there might be evidence whether it were the seed of the first husband or the second: but the husband upon no account was allowed to marry her again, because the law says, that by her second marriage she was defiled; which, say the

BOOK VI. Jews, she was, though she had been only espoused to a new husband, who had never lain with her; for they make no difference between her second marriage and her second espousals, but conceived that a woman contracted as much pollution by her second espousals, as if she had played the whore after her divorce; for in that case, they say, he might, notwithstanding, have married her again, but not after she had been married to another. Thus Mr. Selden gives the opinion of the rabbins, and observes upon the occasion, that the Mahometans, who usually are fond of copying after the Jews, differ from them in this particular, for they allow a man to take his wife again, though he had divorced her three times.

Uxor. Heb. lib. i. c. 2.

Now the ground upon which a divorced woman was accounted defiled or unclean, after another man had married her, I suppose, was, that this was looked upon as a solemn renunciation of her former husband on her part, who had been renounced by him, by the bill of divorce; but he was not absolutely renounced by her, till she married another, whereby she was totally alienated from him. This made her unclean, not in herself, nor with respect to her second husband whom she married, nor with respect to any other man, (who might marry her without any pollution,) but only with respect to her first husband, unto whom, by this law, she was made unclean; for so all things forbidden to the Jews were accounted, as appears from a passage in the Acts of the Apostles, where all meats forbidden by the law are called *unclean;* and God is said to have cleansed them, by taking off that prohibition.

Chap. x. 14, 15.

CHAP. XXXIV.

For a woman to return to her first husband, and to be his wife again, is called an *abomination before the Lord;* for this, says Abarbanel, was to imitate the Egyptians, who changed their wives, and took them again into their houses, which was the occasion of great filthiness and pollution: but this seems to intimate, that if she had not been married to any other man, and kept herself free, she might have been his wife again, if he was willing to have been reconciled to her. Deut. xxiv. 4.

Mr. Basnage, in his history of the Jews, observes, that in the latter time of their government, the women took the same liberty as the men, and in their turn divorced their jealous and disagreeable husbands. Herod's sister sent a letter of divorce to her husband Costobarus, and married again. Josephus remarks, that this was done against the laws of the country, and he maintained the husband's authority against the usurpation of the wives. Scaliger is mistaken here, for he imagined that Salome only sinned because she married again before she had obtained Costobarus's permission, and this permission was necessary to capacitate her to contract a new marriage: but this is not Josephus's notion: it is true, the clause of having power to marry another is commonly inserted in the letter of divorce the husband gives the wife, but it is not absolutely necessary; for when all the bonds of marriage are broken, the person returns to primitive liberty. Salome's crime therefore, according to Josephus, did not consist in marrying again, but in her breaking with him before he separated from her. It was then thought, that the husband had only the power of divorcing, and he had not sent her away. Salome's example

Book v. ch. 21.

Antiq. lib. xv. c. 9.

BOOK VI. was followed by Herodias, who deserted her husband to marry Herod. Berenice, Agrippa's sister, did the same thing, for after having obliged Polemon king of Lycia, to turn Jew to marry her, she divorced him: profane historians only say, that she left him in the lurch, and forsook him, to ramble elsewhere; but it is most probable, that she made use of the liberty that was then enjoined, and of which she had so many instances in her family, to give a letter of divorce to a man she had no affection for. So far Mr. Basnage upon this subject.

CHAP. XXXV.

The ceremony of espousals.

THE Jews are very warm assertors of the honour and sanctity of marriage; they extol it infinitely above a single life, and hold it a condition more suitable to nature, more advantageous to mankind, and more acceptable to God; so that they admit of no unmarried sect among them; but on the contrary, look very jealously upon such of their nation as either marry not at all, or long defer it. Wedlock they esteem among the affirmative precepts, which they make obligatory upon their whole nation. Every male coming to years of maturity is bound to take a wife, to increase his family; and some among them allow of no other end of matrimony but propagation, and account those wicked persons who propose any other satisfaction from it.

Upon this account their espousals are very early, their daughters being usually betrothed at ten years of age, and if they are rich, are married very young;

their manner of espousals is sufficiently orderly and decent. When a male is disposed to marry, he inquires among his kindred for a virgin, to whom he may be joined in this sacred bond, for the maintenance of his name and family in Israel; and being informed that there is such a one, he acquaints himself with her age, complexion, state of body, and other circumstances, and after this begins to drive the bargain with the virgin's relations; who, if they approved of the proposals, admitted him to visit her: but they were cautious that the visit should be short; for should the match not succeed, the familiarity of this interview might tend much to the damsel's disparagement. The consent of the parents was thought necessary, if the maiden was not of age to contract for herself, but the time of completing the marriage was generally left to the choice of the bride.

The manner of contracting or espousing was done three different ways; either by a piece of money, or by an instrument in writing, or by carnal knowledge. This last is understood of a man who had lain with a maid, and therefore was bound by the law to marry her if her father consented; otherwise there was no carnal conversation allowed before the marriage was solemnized, it being no less forbidden, than to lie with a woman in her disease. To espouse with money, the man gave the piece in the woman's hand before witnesses, though it were but a farthing, and said, "Be thou espoused to me ac-" cording to the law of Moses and Israel." To betrothe by writing was no more than to write the same form of words with the woman's name, and deliver it to her before witnesses. A woman con-

BOOK VI. tracted either of these ways, though she were not yet married, nor conducted into the man's house, yet was esteemed his wife; and if any man lay with her, they were both punished with death by the sanhedrim. These solemnities of betrothing were performed by the man and woman under a tent or canopy made for that purpose, called *chuppa* in their language; and in this bridechamber, says Upon Psalm xix. 4. Dr. Hammond, the bridegroom was used to go with his bride, to talk with her more familiarly; and this as a ceremony of confirmation to the wedlock. Whilst he was there, no person came in, but his friends and attendants waited for him at the door, with torches or lamps in their hands; and when he came out, he was received with great joy and acclamation by all that were there. Upon the day of betrothing, the husband takes a common vessel filled with wine, a few drops of it he drinks, and throws the vessel against the ground, which breaks, and the wine is spilled; by which they pretend to signify a community of goods, and the fragility and uncertainty of them. There was a public feast, held for the relations of both parties, at the time of the espousals.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The rites of marriage among the Hebrews. The form of a dowry bill.

THE law of Moses appointing few particular ceremonies to be used in the marriages of the Hebrews, the Jews have been obliged in their connubial rites to establish a form of human institution: some of their customs are trifling and superstitious

enough, but in others they have followed, as near as possible, the practice of the old patriarchs and some of the best men in their own nation, whose example they imitate in their matrimonial concerns, though bound upon them by no law: accordingly, they usually suffered a great deal of time to pass between the ceremony of espousing and the marriage; during this interval the woman continued with her parents, which was about a year or ten months, that she might provide herself suitably with nuptial ornaments; though some say the espoused bride was taken home to the husband's house, that he might be a witness and a keeper of her virginity till the marriage was solemnized; but this opinion has few followers. Gen. xxiv. 55.

All parties being agreed, there is a writing drawn in the house of the damsel's father, where is contained the articles of marriage and the covenant of dowry: according to the common rule, the maid brings a portion to the husband, but the contrary is practised among the Jews, and the husband promises a portion to his wife, which he engages all his goods for, even to his cloak, but it cannot be demanded till after his death. It is equal for all maids, rich and poor, and the doctors have fixed it to the value of fifty crowns, or two hundred *zuses*, but a widow is endowed but with half so much. They think that by this equality they facilitate the marriage of poor girls, and prevent the disorder which the difference of conditions causes in alliances; but they are mistaken, since the husband, over and above the portion he promises his wife, commonly adds a sum proportioned to his estate. The custom followed by the Jews is ancient; for Sichem submitted to the con-

BOOK VI. ditions imposed on him, provided they would let him marry Dinah; and Saul demanded an hundred foreskins of the Philistines of David for Michal's portion; however, the wife brings to her husband her clothes, the particulars of her night dress not being omitted, her moveables, and all that belongs to her, which is done before a great company; and a bill of particulars being delivered to the bridegroom, by virtue thereof, at the day of marriage, he has power to recover whatsoever is therein specified. What she brings with her is valued, and sometimes sold in order to buy immoveables, and which are to be restored in case of widowhood, retrenching a part from the just value to help the husband to defray the expenses of the wedding. This is the moveable gift; and the gift that is made to the bride not being paid till after death, may be looked upon as a jointure in which the widow has the propriety. When the parties have given their consent to contract marriage with the right to her parents' succession, a short blessing is pronounced to the glory of God, who has commanded marriage and forbidden incest, and then the young people who assist at the ceremony, break their earthen vessels which they had in their hands against the ground, imagining it to be a presage of prosperity and abundance.

Gen. xxxiv. 12. 1 Sam. xviii. 25.

The dowry being settled, they pass to the affiancing, wherein the woman is given to the man by some of her near kindred, with this form of words: "Be-" hold, take her after the law of Moses;" and the man replies, "Be thou unto me a wife according to " the law of Moses and Israel."

A copy of a dowry bill is to be found in the Babylonian Talmud, and runs in this form:

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" Upon the sixth day of the week, in the fourth " of the month Sivan, in the year five thousand two " hundred fifty-four of the creation of the world, " according to the computation which we use here " at Massilia, a city situated near the sea-shore, the " bridegroom rabbi Moses, the son of rabbi Jehuda, " said unto the bridewife Clarona, the daughter of " rabbi David, the son of rabbi Moses, a citizen of " Lisbon; Be unto me a wife according to the law " of Moses and of Israel; and I, according to the " word of God, will worship, honour, maintain, and " govern thee according to the manner of the hus- " band among the Jews, which do worship, honour, " maintain, and govern their wives faithfully. I also " do bestow upon thee the dowry of thy virginity, " two hundred deniers of silver, which belong unto " thee by law; and moreover, thy food, thy apparel, " and sufficient necessaries; as likewise the know- " ledge of thee, according to the custom of all the " earth. Thus Clarona the virgin rested, and be- " came a wife to rabbi Moses, the son of Jehuda " the bridegroom."

This dowry bill, upon the wedding-day, is delivered into the custody of the bride, and by it she has authority to challenge from her husband, food, apparel, and the right of the bed.

It was a custom among the ancient Jews to crown the married couple. The husband wore a crown composed of salt and sulphur; the salt was as transparent as crystal, and with the sulphur several figures were drawn upon it. In the mean time, as this custom was extraordinary, it is hard to discover the reason of it. It is said, that this reminded the husband of the sin of Sodom, whose impurities have

Codex MS. apud Wagenseil in Sotah.

BOOK VI. been severely punished, since that land was changed into salt and sulphur, and it was an excellent lesson, which taught him to cleave to his wife, and not to run after foolish amours. The bridal crowns were commonly of gold made in the form of a tower, almost as Cybele the mother of the gods is represented, and a great many empresses in medals.

Cantic. iii. 11. The sacred writers mention this ceremony; *Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals;* and it is probable, that

Isa. lxi. 10. when Isaiah rejoices that God had covered him with a robe of righteousness as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with jewels, we ought to understand a crown instead of ornaments; for so the Seventy, who must have known the use of the expression, have translated it: *He has put a mitre on my head as on a*

Tit. Sotah. c. 9. *bridegroom.* We read in the Misnah, that this custom of crowning was abolished for the bridegrooms, when the war began under Vespasian, and that of crowns for the brides, when Titus besieged the city: yet I am informed that they make use of crowns of roses, myrtle, and ivy to this day.

The day of marriage being appointed, the bride prepares herself for the celebration; upon the marriage eve, at the going down of the sun, she is put into a cistern full of pure water, by two discreet matrons, who are very diligent that not an hair of her head appear above water; for if any part about her remain uncovered, she must be dipped a second time; this bathing, they say, ought to be very exact, because it is to supply whatever was defective in the other circumstances of the bride's preparation.

Upon the wedding day the bride adorns herself as sumptuously as her fortunes will allow; she is attended by women who convey her into a chamber, and placing her in a seat, they plait her hair in the most beautiful curls, and (in imitation of Rebekah's modesty and subjection) they put a veil over her face: this dressing of the bride's hair, though it may be looked upon only as an act of handsomeness and adorning, yet their masters teach it for an instance of religion; for those words, *And brought her unto the man*, they expound thus, *And God brought Eve to Adam after the same manner that a bride is brought to her husband;* that is, elegantly dressed, with her hair curiously curled and plaited, and with joy and dancing. CHAP. XXXVI. Gen. ii. 22.

The bride was led in great pomp to the house of her husband, where the marriage was usually consummated; but the matrimonial form was commonly dispatched in a garden or in the open air, where the bride was placed under a canopy supported by four youths, and adorned with jewels, according to the quality of the married persons, all the company crying out with joyful acclamations, "Blessed be he that "cometh." The bride then makes three turns about her husband, because Jeremy has said, *The woman shall compass the man*, and the bridegroom makes two about her. The company in the next place scatter some grains of wheat upon the married couple, crying, *Increase and multiply:* the relations throw some pieces of money for the poor to scramble for. In some places they put, some time beforehand, barley in a pot full of earth, which is brought to the new married people, when it shoots, to shew them by this symbol, that they ought to multiply speedily Jerem. xxxi. 22.

BOOK VI. like barley: it was certainly a marriage ceremony, for the bridegroom to take a cake of barley, and to break it between him and the bride, to intimate that they were to break bread, and to live together in mutual society; which custom, they say, is alluded to Hosea iii. 2. by Hosea, when he says, that *he bought a woman for an homer and half an homer of barley.*

The bride takes the right hand, because the Psalm xlv. 9. Psalmist says, *Upon thy right hand did stand the queen;* she usually turned towards the north or Talmud. in Beracoth. fol. 5, 6. c. 1. south, as an omen of happy procreation both for the number and sex of their children; and therefore the Jews, as their doctors say, set their beds north and south, in order to beget male children; the curtains of their beds, in order to guard them from flies, were of a very fine net-work, which coming round the whole bed, shut them in in such a manner, that they had the benefit of the air without being offended by the flies, which could not get through them: perhaps the beds of the Jewish women, at such times as it was a legal uncleanness to touch them, were enclosed within a sort of partition, (as is to this day practised by the Samaritans,) to prevent any one's touching them.

Then the rabbi that officiates takes the vestment called *the thaled*, which hangs about the neck and shoulders of the bridegroom, and puts it upon the bride's head, in imitation of the manner of Ruth's Ruth iii. 9. marriage, who said to Boaz, *Spread thy skirt over thine handmaid.* The rabbi, or the chanter of the synagogue, or even a relation, takes a glass of wine, presents it to the bridegroom, blessing God for having created man and woman, forbidden incest, and ordained marriage. It is pretended, that this form of

benediction was given by Ezra, particularly for betrothing; however, as it was often repeated without scruple in this first ceremony, the modern rabbins never fail to repeat it in that of marriage. After he has drunk, he puts a ring without a stone upon the bride's finger, saying, "Behold thou art my "spouse, according to the rite of Moses and of Is-"rael." There must be two or three witnesses when these words are pronounced, and they commonly choose rabbins, though this is not absolutely necessary. Wine is brought a second time in a new vessel, the mouth whereof is narrow, if it be a maid, and larger if it be a widow. They chant six benedictions, says Mr. Basnage, the husband drinks and throws about the rest of the wine as a mark of joy and plenty. At the conclusion, it was anciently the custom for the father and mother, and the kindred of the woman, to pray to God that she might be fruitful, and that her posterity might prove victorious over their enemies. There was likewise a solemn benediction made, say the Jews, in the presence of ten grave persons at the least; and the blessing was pronounced by the eldest, which was understood as a ratification of what was agreed upon. Marriages were usually celebrated in the night, and were fixed to a certain day of the week; the fourth day of the week was appointed for a virgin, and for a widow the fifth. At the ceremony, an epithalamium was sung to musical instruments in praise of the bridegroom and bride. The woman, in token of her subjection, changed her name, and was called after her husband; for to impose a name was a sign of power and authority.

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History of the Jews, b. v. c. 20. Gen. xxiv. 60.

Ruth iv. 11.

Revelat. xviii. 22, 23. Isaiah iv. 1.

Plentiful entertainments or collations followed the

BOOK VI. ceremony, and it has been said (but I think without grounds) that they chose a governor of the feast, of the sacerdotal race, who had the superintendency over the dishes and the wine, and obliged the guests to observe all the decorums which religion requires; yet there were persons appointed to break glass vessels in their wedding feasts, lest they should run into excess, for this gave them notice that they had drunk enough. The first mess that is served up to the bride is a hen with an egg; the hen is torn to pieces the very moment she has tasted of it, and the egg is thrown at the nose of a Christian, if there be any one there to see the ceremony: seven days was the nuptial solemnity to continue in ancient times; they could not shorten the days, as the Jewish doctors say, but they might lengthen them as they did at the marriage of Tobias, when the wedding feast continued fourteen days, though according to custom they were bound to keep but three, the woman being a widow. This feast was called *the nuptial joy*, with which no other was to be intermixed; all labour ceased as long as it continued; and there was no sign of mourning or sorrow to be seen. It was of old the custom to propose questions and riddles to be resolved, that the time might not be spent merely in dull eating and drinking, but that there might be something to exercise and whet the wits of the company; and because it was not the practice to feast without sacrificing, therefore it is probable that for the seven days they offered sacrifices for the prosperity of the married couple.

Judges xiv. 12.

Tobit viii. 19.

Judges xiv. 12.

Besides the company (who were called *the children of the wedding*) there were two paranymphs, one of the kindred of the bridegroom, and the other

related to the bride; the first was called his *companion*, and the other her *conductor*. Their business was to attend upon them to the nuptial chamber, where (say the Jews) they stayed all night, and on the morrow they received the tokens of the bride's virginity, and kept them in their own custody. CHAP. XXXVI.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The tokens of virginity explained.

AFTER a tiresome search into blind and superstitious traditions, a law established by Moses comes to be explained. If the husband, upon carnal experience with his wife, found her to have been debauched, he had the liberty to enter an action against her before the court of Twenty-three, who had the cognizance of this matter; it was laid, as Mr. Selden observes, in this form, "Having lain with this young "woman not of full age, as her husband, I found "not in her the tokens of virginity, and making in- "quisition into the matter, it appears to me that she "hath been guilty of adultery after I had espoused "her, and these are the witnesses of her guilt." Upon this accusation, the father of the damsel was to appear in her defence; for the Jews say, the mother had no power to espouse her daughter, but the father only, before she was of age; though the mother and brethren, they allow, had some power in this matter, but such, that the daughter within the time limited might make the contract void. If she had no parents alive, the judges appointed her a guardian, and Josephus says, that the next of kin

Deut. xxii. 13.

Uxor Hebr. lib. iii. c. 1.

BOOK VI. were to patronise her as if they had been her parents. In her defence, the witnesses who had the keeping of the sheet, in which her husband first lay with her, were to spread it before the court; if there were no signs of her virginity to be seen, she was sentenced to be stoned at the door of her father's house, as a disgrace to her parents, who had taken no better care to preserve her chastity while she lived with them: and this was the punishment of such adulteresses, except only of a priest's daughter, who, if she was guilty of this crime, was burnt alive.

Lev. xxi. 9.

It plainly appears, that the woman intended by this law was one corrupted between the time of her espousals and of her husband's completing the marriage, otherwise he could not have had this capital action against her, none being put to death for simple fornication. The reason given by the law why she was punished with death, is, because she committed this folly or wickedness in her father's house, where she remained after her espousals, as in a safe place, till the husband brought her to his own home.

If the judges were convinced that the man had accused his wife falsely, he was to be delivered into the hands of the officers, who executed the sentence of the court. He was first to receive forty stripes save one, inflicted by a scourge made of thongs of an ox's hide, and the woman was dismissed with a solemn benediction. Then he was amerced in a hundred shekels of silver, to be paid to the father of the damsel, as a satisfaction for the reproach thrown upon his family. Josephus mentions no more than fifty shekels to be paid to her father, though the scripture expressly says a hundred; but it is sup-

Antiq. b. iv. c. 8.

posed by some, that he means fifty besides her dowry, which he was to have given her if he had put her away; which that he might save, he designed to take away her life, and therefore he was punished double to what it would have cost him if he had not been so wicked. This fine was required, because he laid the most infamous crime to the charge of an innocent virgin, and that out of hatred to her, and love to his money; for if he would have put her away according to the law of divorce, no man could have hindered him; but then he must have paid her fifty shekels, which they take to be the dowry of virgins. To keep which to himself, and be rid of her, he brought this scandalous action against her, for which he was thus justly punished. But besides this infliction upon his body and his purse, he was deprived of the common benefit which all men had who did not like their wives, which was to sue out a divorce. [n] Upon this occasion Maimonides calls upon his readers to admire the wise ordination of God, which appears in his judgments as well as in his works. For because this man took away his wife's reputation, therefore God ordered him to be rendered vile by being whipt; and because he basely designed to save her dowry of fifty shekels, he ordered him to be amerced as much more; and because he indulged his lust, and sought nothing but his pleasure, therefore he was bound to keep her as long as he lived.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Exod. xxii. 16.

More Nevochim, p. iii. c. 19.

[o] But this law meets with a quite different construction from some Hebrew writers, who will have it to signify no more, than that the accusation against the woman was to be supported by witnesses of her adultery; and her defence to be made

Selden Uxor Hebr. lib. iii. c. 2.

BOOK VI. by contrary witnesses, who endeavoured to disprove the testimony that was brought against her; for, say they, though such tokens of virginity, as are commonly understood by the words of the law, might always be found in those countries, especially in such virgins as the Jews say were here meant, who were under thirteen years of age; yet there are weighty reasons to incline us to think that no man of sense would bring such an action against his wife, wherein he was sure to be cast, whether his cause was right or wrong, if these were the evidences whereby it was to be tried. For if he accused her falsely, he knew her friends were able to produce the sheet wherein they lay when they were married, with such tokens upon it, as would disgrace him, and render him guilty of defamation; and if he had a just ground to accuse her, because he knew they could produce no such tokens, yet this was no proof she had been vitiated since she was espoused to him, for she might have been corrupted before; and then he could not attain his end, which was to be rid of her, not by way of divorce, (for then he must have given her a dowry which he was desirous to save,) but by having her put to death as an adulteress, which certainly was the present case. Such reasons as these have constrained the Jews to understand these words, not according to the very letter of them, but figuratively of such witnesses produced by her parents, as convinced the other of falsity so evidently, that they made it appear as plainly as a piece of cloth that is unfolded, and laid before men's eyes to view it. And they think the Hebrew word *simlah*, which we translate *the sheet*, favours this exposition; for it never signifies a sheet or linen cloth,

(which is usually called *sadin*,) but such as men's garments are made of, which is commonly woollen and not linen. So that if this interpretation be allowed, the sense must be; "They shall produce "evident proofs, and lay them before the court like "a piece of cloth which is spread, for all that please "to look upon it." But this opinion has few followers, and the learned may judge as they think fit. CHAP. XXXVII.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The consummation and duties of marriage. A new married man exempt from going to the wars.

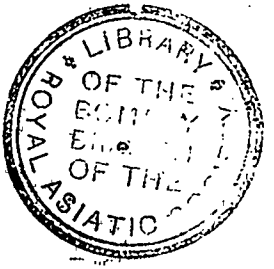
WHEN the marriage is consummated, the bridegroom is obliged to leave the bed, and come not near his wife for a certain time. There are five days in every month in which the wife must advertise her husband, that it is not lawful to touch her, and then he does not sit near her, nor eat upon the same plate, nor drink in the same glass; afterwards she must bathe in running water, and the bath would be invalid, if she wore so much as a ring, that hindered the water from touching any part of her body, for she ought to be washed from head to foot: there are some who superintend these baths, to see if the woman be over head and ears in water. This custom of refraining from their wives is founded upon a law of Moses, which obliges a woman under her monthly flux to be separated from her husband and the sanctuary for seven days; but enough has been said of this in another part of these Antiquities. Book iv. c. 9.

BOOK VI. Infinite are the niceties, found out by the rabbins, in regulating the duties of married persons. The woman owed to her husband love, honour, and obedience, and if she proved rebellious and refractory, he had a power to lessen every day a penny of her portion; the husband paid no more than half the fine if he abused his wife: she was obliged to labour in the woollen manufacture to avoid idleness, and to attend to the concerns of her family; he was bound to find remedies for her in her sickness, to redeem her being captive, to bury her when dead, to nourish her out of his own goods, to keep her daughters till they were married, to suffer her sons to inherit, and to provide a house for her in her widowhood. They have even attempted to regulate the conjugal duties, by rules immodest and ridiculous, *Otio vacantes quotidie, mechanicus operarius bis in hebdomade; asinarius qui sarcinulas nectat, semel; qui portat per camelos semel in mense; nauta semel* Chetub. c. 5. *in dimidio anni*, &c. Maimonides upon this subject remarks thus: "Know thou, that it is in the power "of the wife to retain her husband from going to "sea, or into the army, unless it be near at hand, "lest she should be defrauded of the rights of her "bed. She may also restrain him from passing from "one work to another, lest her due benevolence "should be thereby diminished; the study of the law "only excepted."

And this is perfectly consistent with the indul- Deut. xx. 7. xxiv. 5. gence allowed by the law of Moses, which permits a man, when he has taken a new wife, to study at home for a whole year, where he is exempt from going to the war, and from executing any public employment that might occasion his absence; only

the Jews make a difference between a war by divine commandment, and one undertaken voluntarily; unto the former of which, they conceive, this immunity doth not extend, but only to the latter. They interpret this law either of a man who had espoused a wife, and had not yet brought her home, or of one that had but lately completed his marriage; and whether he had married a widow or a virgin, an old woman or a young, it was the same thing; and they extend it even to him who had married his brother's wife, but not to him who had married a person prohibited to him by the law; or him that took his wife again, whom he had formerly put away, because she was not a *new* wife, as the phrase is. This privilege was a great security to conjugal love, which had time to settle into a stable affection, by an uninterrupted conversation together at the beginning; and the Jews were so favourable in this matter, that they say, if five brethren were in the war together, and one of them was slain, leaving a widow, without issue, all the remaining four returned home; because every one of them in order, in case those before him refused, was to raise up seed to his brother deceased.

END OF VOL. II.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